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THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

(ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ)

CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES

(ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ)

NEWLY EDITED, WITH FACSIMILE TEXT AND A COMMENTARY,

FOR

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE,

FROM THE MS. OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE,
(CONVENT OF THE GREEK CHURCH,)
JERUSALEM,

BY

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BALTIMORE:
PUBLICATION AGENCY OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

LONDON:
C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE, AVE MARIA LANE.
1887

BS
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PREFACE.

TWO years have elapsed since I had the opportunity of presenting to the notice of scholars a small tract containing three pages of photographs taken from the now famous MS. which contains the Teaching of the Apostles. Only one of these pages contained any part of the Teaching itself, and that was a fragment of the opening chapter: but the publication answered its object, which was chiefly the demonstration that the hand which wrote the Teaching was the same that was found in the previously edited and unquestioned epistles of Clement which the Bryennios MS. presented for the first time in a complete form. The edition of these facsimiles was designedly limited in the hope that before long the enquiries made by Dr Charles R. Hale, through whom they were obtained, might result in the acquisition of a complete series of photographs of the Teaching. This hope has now been happily realised, partly through the negotiations initiated by Dr Hale with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and partly through the enthusiastic co-operation and scholarly sympathy of Mr Henry Gillman, the United States Consul in that city. To these two gentlemen the Christian scholarship of the West owes a debt of gratitude for their efforts to secure in the completest form possible the publication of the recovered memorial from the early days of the Faith.

Nor should it be forgotten that in the case of a unique document, the publication of an exact reproduction is a virtuous act on the part of the University that undertakes it. Photography is a literary fire-insurance of the first importance, and

should be employed much more than it has been, where there is any risk of the disappearance of important historical monuments. This consideration is of itself sufficient to ensure the approval and support of scholars for the reproduction undertaken by the Johns Hopkins University.

The rest of the book is an attempt on the part of the Editor to gather up the results of the criticism bestowed upon the text of the Teaching during the past four years. Much of what has been said on the subject is, of necessity, volatile; but the solidities of interpretative criticism are beginning to appear, and the time must be nearly come for their collection. No attempt, however, is made to repeat everything true that has been said on the subject; nor to trace every detail of exact statement to the first person who put it in print. To do so would be to make a mere study of origins out of a labour of love.

A received text of the Teaching is happily almost ours, a received commentary does not enter into the dream of the most audacious of critics; and the Editor is so sensible of his own imperfect discipline in theological matters, that he only asks that the interpretations which he presents may meet with a continuance of the tolerant judgment which has been shewn to his previous efforts by those who are better scholars than he. "For if the readiness is there, it is acceptable according as a man hath, not according as he hath not."

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
PA.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 1, last line of text. *Read* ζωῆς ἐστὶν
Page 2, line 15 of text. *Read* ἔχων· δώσει
Page 7, line 9 of text. *Read* σοῦ ἐστὶν
Page 74, line 2 of text. *Read* the Gnosis on Genesis,

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

In behalf of the Johns Hopkins University under whose auspices the following pages appear, a few words of acknowledgment are due to those who have contributed to the publication.

In common with the world of scholars we owe our thanks first to Bishop Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, the discoverer of the manuscript, and the original editor of the printed text, which was published in 1883.

In September, 1884, the Rev. C. R. Hale, D.D., then of Baltimore, and now Dean of the Cathedral at Davenport, Iowa, addressed a letter to the President of the University, proposing to visit Constantinople and to make an effort while there to secure for publication photographic copies of the pages of the *Didache*. An official letter was accordingly sent to him authorizing him thus to act as our representative. He also carried with him letters of introduction to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, from the Patriarch of Alexandria, and from the Secretary of the Holy Synod of Russia. Upon reaching Constantinople he was taken by the Librarian of the *Hellenic Philological Syllogos* to see the library of the Most Holy Sepulchre, attached to the residence of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, where the *Didache* was then kept, and after some hesitation, the Archimandrite in charge permitted him to take photographs of three pages of the so-called Bryennios manuscript. Reproductions of these pages were published in Baltimore in March, 1885, under the editorial supervision of Mr J. Rendel Harris, at that time holding among us the chair of New Testament Greek and Palæography.

A little later Dr Hale wrote us from Jerusalem that he had seen the Patriarch, who consented that photographs of the entire work should be taken for publication in Baltimore. It had been already determined by His Blessedness to bring the manuscript from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and consequently it was evident that there would be some delay in the fulfilment of his promise. But early in 1887, after the manuscript had been received in Jerusalem, the United States Consul in that city, Henry Gillman, Esq., who had been hospitably received by the Patriarch, was authorized by him to proceed with the undertaking. The photographs were accordingly made, and as soon as they were received in Baltimore were placed in the hands of Professor Harris, the result of whose critical studies is now submitted to scholars.

Grateful acknowledgments are therefore due to His Blessedness, Nicodemus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the enlightened spirit which led him to grant our request and enable us to give to the world an exact reproduction of this valuable manuscript; to the Rev. Dr Hale for the original suggestion of this publication and for a personal presentation of our request to the Patriarch; to the United States Consul in Jerusalem, Henry Gillman, Esq., for his careful supervision of the photographic work, and for the skill and courtesy with which he carried on all the later negotiations; and to the Editor, Professor Harris, of Haverford College, for his care in bringing out this volume.

DANIEL C. GILMAN,
President.

Johns Hopkins University
October 1, 1887.

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THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

TRANSCRIPTION OF TEXT.

Note.—Obvious errors of transcription are recorded in the margin: editorial corrections of any weight are given at the foot of the page.

Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀπυστόλων. Fol. 76 a

c. i. 1 Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁδοὶ δύο Cod. κῡ Cod. δῡο

Deut. xxx. 15 Jerem. xxi. 8 εἰσί· μία τῆς ζωῆς· καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου· διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μετα-

2 ξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον· ἀγαπή- Cod. δῡο Cod. ἔστιν

Fol. 76 b
Cod. θν̄ σεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον· τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα Deut. vi. 5 Lev. xix. 18
For the form of μὴ in Cod. cf. ψυχῃ in fol. 77 a, lin. 21
δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι· καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει· τού- 3 Tob. iv. 15
Cod. ἔστιν των δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν αὕτη· εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους Matt. v. 44
ὑμῖν· καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν· νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν
διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας Luke vi. 32
ὑμᾶς· οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μι-
Cod. οὐχ' ἔξεται σοῦντας ὑμᾶς· καὶ οὐχ ἕξετε ἐχθρόν· ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. 4 1 Pet. ii. 11
ἐάν τις σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Matt. v. 39
ἄλλην καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἓν ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ Matt. v. 48 Matt. v. 41
Cod. δυο Cod. τις δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ Luke vi. 30
Cod. τις Cod. αἰοῦντι τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σὸν μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι· παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε 5
Cod. πηρ δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
χαρισμάτων· μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῷος
Cod. τις γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις ἀ-
θῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην· ἱνατί ἔλαβε καὶ
εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε· καὶ οὐ-
κ' ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν· μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Matt. v. 26
ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται· ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς 6
Cod. χεῖρας τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς· δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς· ii. 1
οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· οὐ πορνεύσεις· οὐ κλέ- 2 Deut. v. 17
ψεις· οὐ μαγεύσεις· οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ·
οὐδὲ γεννηθέντα ἀποκτενεῖς· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον· οὐκ ἐπιορ- 3
κήσεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐ κακολογήσεις· οὐ μνησικακήσεις·

i. 4. lege cum Bry. κοσμικῶν (v. Const. Apost. vii.).
6. lege cum Bry. δῇ. Br. ἱδρωσάτω. Hilg. ἱδρυσάτω. Harn. μὴ δραχθήτω etc.
ii. 3. Bry. γεννηθέν.

4, 5 οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων· οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔ- Fol. 77 a

6 σται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδὴς οὐ κενός· ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει· οὐκ ἔσῃ

πλεονέκτης· οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ· οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής· οὐδὲ κακοήθης· οὐδὲ ὑπερή-

Lev. xix. 17 Deut. xxiii. 7 7 φανος· οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου· οὐ μισήσεις πάντα

Jude 22, 23 ἄνθρωπον· ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις· περὶ δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ· οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ Cod. ανον

iii. 1 τὴν ψυχήν σου· τέκνον μου φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ· καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ·

2 μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτής· μηδὲ ἐ- Cod. μὴ δὲ passim

3 ριστικός· μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται· τέκνον μου· Cod. γενῶνται

μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρο-

λόγος· μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται· Cod. μοιχειαι sup. ras.

4 τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν· Cod. ἐπεὶ δὴ passim

μηδὲ ἐπαοιδός· μηδὲ μαθηματικός· μηδὲ περικαθαίρων· μηδὲ θέλε

αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται· τέκνον

5 μου μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν· μηδὲ

φιλάργυρος· μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων, κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

6 τέκνον μου μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν.

μηδὲ αὐθάδης· μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων βλα-

Ps. xxxvii. 11 7 σφημίαι γεννῶνται· ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς· ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομή-

8 σουσι τὴν γῆν· γίνου μακρόθυμος· καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος· καὶ

Is. lxvi. 2 ἡσύχιος· καὶ ἀγαθός· καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντὸς· οὓς ἤκουσας· οὐχ ὑψώσεις Cod. οὐχ' ὑψώσει σεαυτὸν

9 σεαυτόν· οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος· οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχή σου Cod. here has iota ascript, τῆι

Rom. xii. 16 10 μετὰ ὑψηλῶν· ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ· τὰ συμ-

βαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ. εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ Cod. θῦ

ii. 7. post οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις adde οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις cum Hilg., Funk. (Cf. Ap. Can. et ep. Jud. v. 23.)
iii. 2. l. ὀργίλος cum Bry.

Fol. 77 b

Cod. θῡ οὐδὲν γίνεται· τέκνον μου τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· μνησθή- iv. 1

Cod. κῡ σῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται

Cod. κσ ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν· ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων· 2

ἵνα ἐπαναπαῇς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα· εἰρηνεύσεις 3

δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως· οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παρα-

πτώμασιν· οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ· μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν 4, 5

τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας· πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ 6 Sir. iv. 31

τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι· οὐδὲ 7

Cod. ἡ τοῦ μ. διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. Jac. i. 5

οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον· συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀ- 8

δελφῷ σου· καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινω- Acts iv. 32

νοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς· οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ 9

υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν

Cod. θῡ φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 10

Cod. θῡ θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ σου· μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν

Cod. θῡ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς

Cod. δούλοι τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις 11

Cod. ἡμῶν ὑμῶν· ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ· μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν 12

Cod. θῡ

Cod. κῶ, κῡ καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου· φυλάξεις δὲ 13 Deut. iv. 2

ἃ παρέλαβες· μήτε προστιθεὶς· μήτε ἀφαιρῶν· ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξο- 14 Deut. xii. 32

μολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου· καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προ- Sir. i. 28

σευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς· ἡ δὲ τοῦ θα- v. 1

Cod. ὁδὸς ἐστὶν νάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας

iv. 2. ἐπαναπαύῃ Bry.
3. l. ποιήσεις. (Cf. Barnab., Ap. Const., Ap. Can.)

Fol. 78 a

Rom. i. 29 μεστή· φόνοι· μοιχεῖαι· ἐπιθυμίαι· πορνεῖαι· κλοπαί· εἰδω-
λολατρίαι· μαγεῖαι· φαρμακίαι· ἁρπαγαί· ψευδομαρτυρίαι·
ὑποκρίσεις· διπλοκαρδία· δόλος· ὑπερηφανία· κακία· αὐθάδεια·
Col. iii. 8 πλεονεξία· αἰσχρολογία· ζηλοτυπία· θρασύτης· ὕψος· ἀλαζονεία·
2 διῶκται ἀγαθῶν· μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν· ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος· οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν
Rom. xii. 9 δικαιοσύνης· οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ· οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐ-
κ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν· ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομο-
Is. i. 23 νή· μάταια ἀγαπῶντες· διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα· οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν·
οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ· οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς· φονεῖς
τέκνων· φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ· ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον· κατα- Cod. θν
πονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον. πλουσίων παράκλητοι· πενήτων ἄνομοι
κριταί· πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε τέκνα ἀπὸ τούτων ἁπάντων.
vi. 1 ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς· ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς
2 θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου τέλειος Cod. θῦ
Cod. κῦ
3 ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ὃ δύνῃ τοῦτο ποιεῖ· περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως· ὃ δύνασαι
1 Thess. i. 9 βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστιν θεῶν νεκρῶν·
Matt. xxviii. 19 vii. 1 περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτί-
σατε· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι Cod. πρς
Cod. πνς
John iv. 10 2 ζῶντι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν· εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ
3 δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ· ἐν θερμῷ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς· ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν
κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος· Cod. πρς
Cod. πνς
4 πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος·
καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς

vii. 4. l. κελεύσεις. (Bry. et edd. omn.)

Fol. 78 b

Cod. δυσ ἢ δύο· αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν· μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ viii. 1 Matt. vi. 16
δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρα-
Cod. μὴ δὲ σκευήν· μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί· ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν 2 Matt. vi. 9
Cod. κς –13
Cod. περ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ· οὕτως προσεύχεσθε· πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ἁγιασθή-
Cod. ουν ω
Cod. γεννηθήτω τω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου·
Cod. ουνω ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες
ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν· ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσε-
νέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν· ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι
σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω 3
προσεύχεσθε· περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ ix. 1, 2
Cod. περ τοῦ ποτηρίου. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου
Cod. δαδ Δαϋὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου· ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· Acts iv. 25, 27
Cod. ιυ
Cod. εὐχαριστ- σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι πάτερ ἡ- 3
οῦμεν
Cod. περ
Cod. ιυ μῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ
ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον 4
ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν· οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκ-
κλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι
Cod. ιυ χυ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μηδεὶς 5
Cod. μηδεις
Cod. μὴ δὲ δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν· ἀλλ᾽ οἱ βαπτισθέντες
Cod. κυ εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος· μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί. Matt. vii. 6
Cod. κς
Cod. εὐχαριστ- μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· εὐχαριστοῦμέν x. 1, 2
οῦμεν
Cod. περ σοι πάτερ ἅγιε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας
Cod. υμων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως· καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας·

ix. 4. 1. τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα cum Gebhardt et Funk.

Fol. 79 a

3 ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου[·] σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· σὺ Cod. ῑ͞υ
δέσποτα παντόκρατορ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· Cod. omits two dots which should accompany the τ in δέσπο͞τα
τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν· ἵνα σοι Cod. ἀ͞νοις
εὐχαριστήσωσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ Cod. π͞νικὴν
4 ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου· πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι Cod. εὐχαριστοῦμεν
5 δυνατὸς εἶ σὺ [· σοὶ] ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ Cod. κ͞ε
ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ· καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου· Cod. ἐκκλ͞η
Matt. xxiv. 31 καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων· τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν
βασιλείαν· ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα
6 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἐλθέτω χάρις· καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος· ὡς ἀν-
Matt. xxi. 9, 15 νὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαϊΐδ· εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι μετα- Cod. θ͞ω δ͞αδ
Cod. ἅγιος ἐστὶν
1 Cor. xvi. 22 νοείτω· μαραναθά ἀμήν· τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαρι-
xi. 1 στεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν· ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα
2 τὰ προειρημένα δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς δι-
δάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι· μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ
τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου· δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· περὶ δὲ Cod. κ͞υ, κ͞ν
3 τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου· οὕτως ποιή-
Matt. x. 40 4, 5 σατε. πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος. οὐ με- Cod. κ͞ς
νεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ χρεία καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ
6 ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβα- Cod. μὴ δὲν
νέτω· εἰ μὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ ψευδοπρο-
7 φήτης ἐστί· καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ πειράσετε. Cod. π͞νι
Cod. πειράσε-
Matt. xii. 31 οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται· αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία ταῖ

x. 4. adde σοὶ post σύ cum Harn.
6. θεῷ. (Bry. υἱῷ.) stet lectio codicis.
xi. 5. adde εἰ μὴ ante ἡμέραν cum Harn.

Fol. 79 b

Cod. πνι οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται· οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐὰν ἔχῃ 8
Cod. ἐστιν·

Cod. κῡ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου· ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προ-

Cod. ὁ ῥίζων φήτης καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς· 9 Heb. xiii. 10
Cod. πνι

εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν 10

εἰ ἃ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκι- 11

μασμένος ἀληθινὸς ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας· μὴ διδά-

Cod. θῡ σκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ᾽ ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει

τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται· ὃς δ᾽ ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν 12

Cod. πνι πνεύματι δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἕτερά τινα οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων

Cod. μὴ δεὶς ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω· πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνό- xii. 1 Ps. cxviii. 26

Cod. κῡ ματι κυρίου· δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτόν. γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν

Cod. ἕξεται γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν· εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος βο- 2

Cod. δῡο ηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡ-

μέρας· ἐὰν ᾖ ἀνάγκη· εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι τεχνίτης ὢν ἐργα- 3

ζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην· κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοή- 4

σατε· πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός· εἰ δ᾽ οὐ θέλει οὕτω 5

ποιεῖν χριστέμπορός ἐστιν. προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων· πᾶς δὲ προ- xiii. 1

φήτης ἀληθινὸς θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἄξιός ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ Matt. x. 10

ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τρο- 2

Cod. γενήμα- φῆς αὐτοῦ. πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἅλωνος· βοῶν τε καὶ 3
των

προβάτων λαβών· δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν

οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. 4

ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβών, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ὡ- 5

xii. 3. Bry. καθῆσαι. id. xiii. 1.
xiii. 3. Bry. om. τὴν ἀπαρχήν.

Fol. 80 a

6 σαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προ-
7 φήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν
τὴν ἀπαρχήν· ὡς ἄν σοι δόξῃ δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν·
xiv. 1 κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον· καὶ εὐχαριστήσα- Cod. κυ
τε προσεξομόλογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν· ὅπως κα-
2 θαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾖ· πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου
αὐτοῦ, μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν· ἵνα μὴ κοι-
3 νωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου[·] ἐν παντὶ τό- Cod. κῡ
Mal. i. 11 πῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν· ὅτι βασι-
λεὺς μέγας εἰμὶ λέγει κύριος· καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Cod. κ̄ς
xv. 1 χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου Cod. κῡ
ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους·
ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ
2 διδασκάλων· μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι
3 ὑμῶν· μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων· ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους.
μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ· ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ· ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀ-
στοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω· μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν Cod. μὴ δεὶς
Cod. μὴ δὲ
4 ἀκουέτω ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ· τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεη-
μοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις· οὕτως ποιήσατε ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ
xvi. 1 εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν· γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν Cod. κῡ
Cod. ἡμῶν
Luke xii. 35 μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν· καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν· ἀλλὰ
Matt. xxiv. 42 γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται· Cod. κ̄ς
2 πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν·

xiv. 1. l. προεξομολογησάμενοι cum Harn. et Funk.
ἡμῶν. ὑμῶν Bry. et edd.
2. τὴν. l. τινὰ cum Gebh.
xv. 3. l. ἑταίρου.
ἀκουέσθω Funk.

Fol. 80 b

οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ
ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πλη- 3
θυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς· καὶ στρα-
φήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους· καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη· στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος·
αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξου- 4 Matt. xxiv. 10, 12
σιν καὶ παραδώσουσι· καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς Apoc. xii. 9
Cod. θῡ υἱὸς θεοῦ. καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα· καὶ τέρατα· καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς
χεῖρας αὐτοῦ. καὶ ποίησει ἀθέμιτα ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος· τό- 5 Matt. xxiv. 24
Cod. ανω̄ν τε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας· καὶ σκαν-
δαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες Matt. xxiv. 10, 13
ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος· καὶ τότε 6
Cod. ἀληθείας φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον· σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως Matt. xxiv. 30
Cod. ουνω ἐν οὐρανῷ· εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος· καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνά-
Cod. κ̄ς στασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ· ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐρρέθη· ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες 7 Zech. xiv. 5
Cod. κ̄ν οἱ ἅγιοι μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ· τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον 8 Matt. xxiv. 30, xxvi. 64
Cod. οῡνου ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

4. κοσμοπλανὴς· sic Cod. κοσμόπλανος Bry.
5. ὑπ᾽. ἀπ᾽ Hilg., Zahn, Funk.

THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES.

COMMENTARY ON TEXT.

Description of Jerusalem Codex.

THE only direct authority for the Greek text of the Teaching of the Apostles is the Jerusalem Codex. This is a book of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 6, written, as a subscription in it testifies, in 1056 A.D. by the hand of Leo or Leon a notary: it contains the following treatises:

α. Fol. 1—32 b. The Synopsis of Holy Scripture of St John Chrysostom: the variants from the current text as printed in Migne's *Patrologia*, and an unedited fragment, are given by Bryennios in his edition of the Teaching, pp. ρθ′—ρμδ′.

β. Fol. 33—51 b. The epistle of Barnabas. The readings of the MS. have been used by Gebhardt and Harnack under the sign C and by Hilgenfeld as I. Corrections to Hilgenfeld's text will be found in Bryennios, pp. ρδ′—ρη′.

γ. Fol. 51 b—70 and 70—76. The two epistles of Clement which were edited from this text by Bryennios in 1875. Corrections and additions will be found on pp. ργ′—ρδ′ and also in a Παράρτημα at the close of Bryennios' edition of the Teaching.

δ. Fol. 76: a list of books of the Canonical Old Testament, derived apparently from an uncial Greek source, and this again from an Aramaic table: printed in Bryennios' Teaching and given in facsimile in my *Three Pages of the Bryennios MS.*

ε. Fol. 76—80 b. The Teaching of the Apostles, from which the text of the editio princeps and all succeeding editions is taken.

ϛ. Fol. 81—120. The Ignatian and semi-Ignatian epistles, thirteen in number; the text furnishes readings for Dr Lightfoot's Ignatius.

The two last pages of the book are occupied after the subscription by an explanation of our Lord's genealogy. Part of this is also given in the *Three Pages*, and it is not necessary to describe it further in this place.

A glance at the above list will shew how much has been gathered from the pages of the Jerusalem Codex. For our purpose there is no need to make any further reference to the other matter contained therein, beyond the Teaching of the Apostles.

The Codex which was originally in the Library of the Greek Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople is now removed to the head-quarters

of that fraternity at Jerusalem, and nothing in its previous history calls for further mention here.

Handwriting of Jerusalem Codex.

The Jerusalem Codex is not destitute of paleographic importance, inasmuch as its text is full of tachygraphic signs, for many of which an early date is thus furnished. The transcription of the facsimile pages would furnish an excellent exercise to a beginner who wished to render himself familiar with the leading short-hand abbreviations of a Greek MS. We do not however spend time in drawing attention to them in detail, inasmuch as they have no authority beyond the custom of the time, and throw no light upon the original state of the document. It is a matter of no importance for the criticism of the Teaching whether the text shews an iota ascript or not; such a feature is of interest only to the paleographer who may wish to date the phenomenon.

The text is carefully written; very few cases of apparent itacism present themselves in the Teaching: one of these occurs in xi. 4, where the scribe has given *πειράσεται* but corrected it himself by writing *ε* over the line: but in fact it is not necessary to regard this as an itacism, for it may be only an eye error from the neighbouring word *ἀφεθήσεται*. Another case is *ἔξεται* for *ἕξετε*, in c. i. 3 and c. xii. 1: add *δὲ* for *δὴ* in c. i. 6, *ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται*, and perhaps we must with Hilgenfeld note the same error in c. xi. *πᾶς δὴ ἀπόστολος* where Cod. has *δὲ*.

In c. x. 2, where the text gives *σὺ ἡ δόξα*, we may avoid the supposition of itacism by reading with Harnack *δυνατὸς εἶ σύ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα*. Confusion between *ἡμεῖς* and *ὑμεῖς* is frequent: also in such words as *εἰδωλολατρεία*, *φαρμακεία*, the MS. always writes *εἰδωλολατρία*, &c. It is probably to itacism that we must refer c. xi. 5 where in *οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν* the words *εἰ μὴ* must certainly be restored before the similar syllables of *ἡμέραν*. For cf. c. xii. *οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*.

Again, by comparing the two passages xiv. 2, *πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ*, and xv. 3, *παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου*, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the *ἑτέρου* in the second passage has suffered from itacism. The same thing is true with regard to the first of the two passages which may almost with certainty be restored to *ἔχων τινὰ ἀμφιβολίαν*.

Accuracy of the transcription of Bryennios.

This brings us to examine, which is indeed the first point for which scholars will use our reproduction, the accuracy of the transcription made by Bryennios. The following are the only errors that I have noted: in c. iii. 2 the MS. reads *γενῶνται* ex errore: in iii. 8 *ὑψώσει σεαυτὸν* for *ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν*: in xii. 3 and xiii. 1 Bryennios twice reads *καθῆσαι*, for which Hilgenfeld proposes *καθίσαι*. A reference to the facsimile, and a comparison

with the forms δύνασαι, βαστάσαι in c. vi. or ῥῦσαι in c. viii., will shew that the tachygraphic abbreviation is not meant for the letters αι; it can hardly then be anything but θαι, the θ being almost lost and only indicated by the loop in the writing. Compare ῥύσασθαι in f. 79 a, l. 7. Hence we read καθῆσθαι in both places; and cf. for the tense θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν in c. xii. 5. In c. xiii. 2 the Cod. reads γενημάτων, which must be corrected as printed by Bryennios. In c. xvi. 1 the MS. has ἡμῶν. In c. xvi. 4 the MS. has certainly κοσμοπλανὴς, and however much we may regard the other form as more natural, this form is in any case to be retained[1].

It will be noticed that, as is common with MSS. of this age, such words as μὴδεὶς, μὴδὲ have a double accent, ἐστιν has its accent on the first syllable after a circumflex, &c., &c.

We come now to the positive changes made by Bryennios in the text.

In c. i. 4 he replaces σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν by σαρ. καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπι. This he does on the ground that "fleshly and bodily lusts" is a tautology and that the seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions in working up the passage gives the word κοσμικῶν. It is not easy to decide whether this change is necessary, but I am inclined to think that Bryennios is right.

In i. 6 we have the crucial passage ἱδρωτάτω κτέ. which B. changes to ἱδρωσάτω. Of this more anon.

In iv. 2 he corrects ἐπάναπαῇς of the Cod. to ἐπαναπαύῃ in which he is certainly wrong, the form given in the MS. being closely paralleled in Hermas and elsewhere, and even in the N. T.

In x. 4 he corrects ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ δαβίδ into ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ δαβίδ; wrongly as I think, the change being probably intentional on the part of the writer of the Teaching, and an early Christian gloss on the words "If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?" At any rate the text should stand provisionally as in the MS.

These are the principal changes introduced by Bryennios.

Conjectural emendations to the text of the Teaching.

This brings us to the question of conjectural emendations at large. It is well known that a number of suggestions have been made for the improvement of the text of the Teaching. One or two trifling corrections have been already noted which are hardly more than the removal of clerical errors; but there are others which are of a different character and involve serious alterations. Let us take for example Hilgenfeld's edition; in i. 6 he proposes to read ἱδρυσάτω for ἱδρωτάτω of the Codex; it must be admitted that this is almost as unintelligible as the Codex itself.

Then in ii. 7 he proposes to add after οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις from the corresponding passage in the Apostolical Canons the words οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις. Here there

[1] Sophocles in his Lexicon notes a similar variation of λαοπλανὴς for λαόπλανος in Ecclesiastical writers, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

is some reason for the introduction, since the similarity of the expressions leaves us no choice between an omission by homœoteleuton on the part of the MS. and a corruption with subsequent conflation on the part of the ancestors of our text of the Canons. If we adopt the latter alternative, it is still an open question whether ἐλεήσεις should not be replaced for ἐλέγξεις. But then since ἐλέγχετε ἀλλήλους occurs in c. xv. 2, we ought to regard ἐλέγξεις as at least a part of the genuine reading, and in fact we shall shew from a reference to Jude 22, 23 that the text must contain both elements.

Another very curious emendation of Hilgenfeld's is to read μυῶν for ποιῶν in the difficult passage xi. 11 ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας. This is based upon the fact that μ and π are interchangeable in uncial script and that οι and γ are itacistic variants. This is ingenious but it adds nothing to the interpretation, nor was anything necessary, as the whole passage is perfectly clear in the light of the explanation given by Dr Taylor.

Finally Hilgenfeld proposes to read in xvi. 5 (for τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας) τότε ἥξει ἡ κρίσις κτέ.

Neither does this seem to be happy: it must be admitted that the passage is harsh as it stands; perhaps it would be better to read ΠΙCΤΙC for ΚΤΙCΙC. This would agree well with what follows, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει, and would not be without corroboration from the passages 1 Pet. i. 7, τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως...διὰ πυρὸς δὲ δοκιμαζομένου and 1 Pet. iv. 12, τῇ πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένῃ. But perhaps it is safer for the present to let the MS. have its own way[1]. And indeed it must be admitted that with slight exceptions the attempts to emend the text have not been very successful. The most difficult passages have yielded to interpretative skill, where they have failed under other treatment, and this should assure us that any alterations in the text must not be more than moderate if they are to be in any degree acceptable.

We note that Harnack in his latest tract on the Teaching[2] says on this point that there are only three passages in which the suspicion of a fundamental error in the text finds any support, viz. i. 6 (ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη), xi. 11 (ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας), xvi. 5 (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος). These passages we shall presently discuss at length, and shall shew that in two of them the text is almost certainly right as it stands, while in the third it is so nearly right that it is difficult to tell where to begin to correct it.

Secondary authorities for the text of the Teaching.

The determination of the text of the Teaching of the Apostles, as well as its place in the history of Christian literature, depends largely upon a

[1] Especially since κτίσις=בריות, which Hebrew term is used freely for *men*. Thus Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, notes from Talm. *Kethuv* f. 17 a, "The wise men say, Let the mind of man be always mingled with the creatures." The gloss there is "To do with every *man* according to complacency." Cf. Matt. xxviii. ad fin.

[2] *Die Apostellehre und die Jüdischen beiden Wege*, p. 6. Leipzig, 1886.

comparative study of the Teaching itself and other documents which have much in common with it. When we determine the text of a passage in the New Testament, we are obliged to resort to the combined evidence of such copies and versions as contain the passage and such fathers as quote it. A similar process being applied in the present case we find that our copies reduce to unity, while our versions amount to no more than a fragment of Latin[1], and the burden of corroborative testimony is thus thrown on the testimony of the patristic literature, which has the advantage in the present case of being peculiarly early and rich. From these quotations we shall derive a very clear idea of the geographical distribution of the Teaching and of the period of time during which it continued in use in the Church.

The following table contains a conspectus of the authorities referred to:

α. Jerusalem Codex.
β. Fragment of Latin Version.
These three works are all restatements of a primitive Teaching.
γ. Epistle of Barnabas.
δ. The Ecclesiastical Canons,
= the Epitome of Catholic Tradition,
= the Two Ways, or the Judgment of Peter.
ε. The seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions.
ϛ. The Ascension of Isaiah.
ζ. The Epistle of Jude.
η. The author of the second Clementine epistle.
θ. Justin Martyr.
ι. Hermas.
ια. Theophilus of Antioch.
ιβ. Clement of Alexandria.
ιγ. Tertullian.
ιδ. Dionysius of Alexandria.
ιε. The Sibylline books and Ps.-Phocylides.
ιϛ. Origen.
ιζ. The Apostolical Constitutions.
ιη. Ps.-Ign. ad Antioch.
ιθ. Athanasius and Ps.-Athanasius.
κ. Lactantius.
κα. Ps.-Cyprian.
κβ. Dorotheus of Palestine.
κγ. The Clementine Homilies.
κδ. Joannes Climacus.
κε. A corrector of the Sinaitic Codex.
κϛ. Severinus of Cologne.
κζ. Boniface of Mainz.

[1] It is, however, probable that the Teaching existed both in Syriac and in Coptic.

Other writers will be given who recognize the existence of the book: those to whom reference is made actually quote it or shew traces of acquaintance with it. We shall now give these authorities in detail.

A Latin fragment.

The Latin Fragment.

We owe our knowledge of this fragment to Prof. von Gebhardt. He noticed in Martin Kropff's *Bibliotheca Mellicensis* published at Vienna in 1747, and containing an account of the cloister-library of Mölk in Austria, a description of a parchment codex of at least the tenth century containing a lectionary of patristic extracts followed by a treatise of Boniface *De Abrenuntiatione in baptismate.* After which Kropff goes on as follows: "pag. ultima habetur Doctrina Apostolorum, sed manca. Inc. Viae duae sunt in saeculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum, etc." Here was evidently a portion of a Latin translation of the Teaching. Kropff gave the class-mark of the book as Q. 52, but enquiry made from the librarian at Mölk brought a correction to this, making it R. 52, and also the unpleasant news that the MS. had disappeared from the library[1]. No further trace of it could be found at the time of the production of the Gebhardt-Harnack edition of the Teaching. Foiled in this direction, Gebhardt turned to the printed editions of Boniface and ascertained that the sermon of Boniface to which allusion was made above was supplied to Martene the editor of Boniface from this very manuscript by Bernhard Pez, who was formerly librarian of the abbey of Mölk. A reference to the fourth volume of the *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*[2] of Pez disclosed the precious fragment of the Teaching already in print. The following is the transcription of Pez, to which we add such corrections as result from Funk's examination of the MS. which has since been found by the librarian at Mölk:—

"Tum in Codice post perbrevia quaedam S. Augustini dicta comparet Doctrina Apostolorum, eadem, qua sermo S. Bonifacii, manu exarata, quae sic habet.

Doctrina Apostolorum.

Viae duae sunt in seculo, vitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum.

In his constituti sunt Angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis.

Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vitae haec est: Primo diliges Deum aeternum, qui te fecit. Secundo proximum tuum, ut te ipsum. Omne autem, quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris.

Interpretatio autem horum verborum haec est: non moechaberis, non homicidium facies, non falsum testimonium dices, non puerum violaveris, non

[1] Funk says "numero 914, olim Q 52 signatus."

[2] Tom. iv. pars ii. col. 5.

fornicaveris, non malefacies[1], non medicamenta mala facies; non occides filium in abortum, nec natum succides. Non concupisces quidquam de re proximi tui. Non perjurabis. Non male loqueris. Non eris memor malorum factorum. Non eris duplex in consilium dandum, neque bilinguis: tendiculum enim mortis est lingua. Non erit verbum tuum vacuum nec mendax. Non eris cupidus nec avarus, nec rapax, nec adolator[2] nec[3].....(*caetera in Codice desiderantur*)."

The importance of this fragment will be evident if we consider the variations of its text from the Teaching and from other authorities which present the doctrine of the Two Ways. The principal feature is the omission of the whole of the portion of the Teaching from i. 3 (εὐλογεῖτε) to ii. 1 (τῆς διδαχῆς). That is to say it omits the portion of the first chapter which contains the most pronounced Christian sentiments and passes on in perfect sequence to those sentiments which are nearest to the Decalogue. This is very striking, and it is no wonder that the suspicion has arisen in many minds that the Teaching of the Apostles is in part a Jewish document which has been rehandled by early Christians. Another peculiarity is the expansion of the opening sentences; the two ways are described as ways of Life and Death, of Light and Darkness. And over the two ways there preside two angels, one of righteousness the other of iniquity. We shall presently see something similar to this in the quotations made by Barnabas: for he substitutes Light and Darkness for Life and Death, and affirms that over one way preside illuminating angels of God, and over the other angels of Satan. While there is no reason to suppose any direct connexion between the Latin version and the text of Barnabas, there is enough similarity of expression to make it likely that the original doctrine of the Two Ways was current in forms more or less glossed and that Barnabas and the Latin Version have some such glossed edition in common. It breaks the sequence, however, of our Διδαχή if we insert any angelology before the words "and there is a great difference between the two ways."

The Epistle of Barnabas.

Barnabas and the Teaching.

We come now to the passages from the Teaching which are worked up in the Epistle of Barnabas. No subject was on the publication of Bryennios' treatise more debated than the question of the relative priority of the Teaching and of Barnabas. And no doubt there was something to be said in favour of the opinion that the Teaching was in part a rechauffé of the last four

[1] For these two words Pez left a blank, evidently not knowing what to make of the *non maofacies* of the Codex which appears to correspond to οὐ μαγεύσεις of the Greek.

[2] Pez: adulator.

[3] The last word in copy illegible.

chapters of Barnabas, so long as an exaggerated idea of the antiquity of the epistle prevailed and an inadequate idea of the antiquity of the Teaching. This ground is now almost entirely abandoned and we have instead a theory of a primitive Jewish doctrine of the Two Ways which serves as a base for both the Teaching and Barnabas and all succeeding developments. Whether such a primitive form existed or not (and I have already expressed myself in the tract *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*[1] in favour of such an opinion), I am none the less satisfied that the coincidences between Barnabas and the Teaching are not confined to the material which such a primitive book would furnish. It must have been a longer work. The quotations that follow will make this sufficiently clear.

Barn. c. iv. 5. Πάντας ἀγαπῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν μου.

An exaggeration of Barnabas for Διδ. ii. 7, *οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.*

iv. 9. Διὸ *προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις.* οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος *τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν καὶ* τῆς πίστεως, *ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καίρῳ... ἀντιστῶμεν.*

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 2.

iv. 10. *Μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύνοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος.*

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 2, *πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε, ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.*

v. 4. *Τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι δικαίως ἀπολεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἔχων* ὁδοῦ δικαιοσύνης *γνῶσιν ἑαυτὸν εἰς* ὁδὸν σκότους *ἀποσυνέχει.*

Here Barnabas introduces a new definition of the Two Ways: the Way of Righteousness and of Unrighteousness (which is the description that we found in the Latin fragment); while he also has the old one (the Way of Light and the Way of Darkness) in his mind.

vi. 15. *Ναὸς γὰρ ἅγιος, ἀδελφοί μου, τῷ κυρίῳ τὸ κατοικητήριον ἡμῶν τῆς καρδίας.* Cf. Διδ. x. 2.

xii. 11. *Ἴδε πῶς Δαυὶδ λέγει αὐτὸν κύριον, καὶ υἱὸν οὐ λέγει.* Cf. Διδ. x. 6.

xvi. 1. Note the expression τὸν θεὸν *αὐτῶν* τὸν ποιήσαντα *αὐτούς*, and cf. Διδ. i. 1 and v. 2.

xvi. 9. Observe the expression αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς διδαχῆς, and cf. Διδ. ii. 1.

The foregoing coincidences are sufficient taken cumulatively and shew an acquaintance with the Teaching which is not limited to the first five chapters. We come now to those chapters of the Epistle which especially deal with the Two Ways (a few rejected readings of the Sinaitic Codex are noted in the margin).

[1] Cambridge, Wallis, 1886.

xviii. Μεταβῶμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καὶ διδαχήν. ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ διδαχῆς[1] καὶ ἐξουσίας· ἥ τε τοῦ φῶτος καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκότους. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν· ἐφ' ἧς μὲν γάρ εἰσι τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ. καὶ ὁ μέν ἐστι κύριος ἀπ' αἰωνῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας.

xix. Ἡ οὖν ὁδός τοῦ φωτός ἐστιν αὕτη· ἐάν τις θέλων ὁδὸν ὁδεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ὡρισμένον τόπον σπεύσῃ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ· ἔστιν οὖν ἡ δοθεῖσα ἡμῖν γνῶσις τοῦ περιπατεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ τοιαύτη· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν σε ποιήσαντα, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου. ἔσῃ ἁπλοῦς τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ πλούσιος τῷ πνεύματι, οὐ κολληθήσῃ μετὰ τῶν πορευομένων ἐν ὁδῷ θανάτου. μισήσεις πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρεστὸν τῷ θεῷ, μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου. οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτόν, ἔσῃ δὲ ταπεινόφρων κατὰ πάντα. οὐκ ἀρεῖς ἐπὶ σεαυτὸν δόξαν. οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος· οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις. οὐ μή σου ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξέλθῃ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τινῶν. οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι τινὰ ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. ἔσῃ πραΰς, ἔσῃ ἡσύχιος, ἔσῃ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους, οὓς ἤκουσας. οὐ μνησικακήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. οὐ διψυχήσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ. οὐ μὴ λάβῃς ἐπὶ ματαίῳ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον σου ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ πάλιν γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς. οὐ μὴ ἄρῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νεότητος διδάξεις φόβον κυρίου. οὐ μὴ γένῃ ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οὐ μὴ γένῃ ℵ θεου πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ ἐκ ψυχῆς σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταπεινῶν καὶ δικαίων ἀναστραφήσῃ. τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄνευ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται. οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος. παγὶς ℵ γλωσσώδης γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ δίγλωσσία. ℵ om. παγις... δίγλωσσια ὑποταγήσῃ κυρίοις ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. οὐ μὴ ἐπιτάξῃς δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ ἐν πικρίᾳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσι, μήποτε οὐ φοβηθῶσι τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν. ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθεν κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. κοινωνήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τῷ πλησίον σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι. εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς. οὐκ ἔσῃ πρόγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ στόμα ℵ τὸ στόμα θανάτου. ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἁγνεύσεις. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν. ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ κυρίου. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ ℵ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων ἢ διὰ λόγου κοπιῶν καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ παρακαλέσαι καὶ μελετῶν εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ψυχὴν τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ ℵ λύτρον δέ, τίς ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. εἰς τέλος μισήσεις τὸ πονηρόν. κρινεῖς δικαίως. οὐ ποιήσεις ℵ om. τὸ σχίσμα· εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους συναγαγών. ἐξομολογήσῃ ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαις σου.

[1] Cf. Teaching c. vi. 1 *τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς.*

οὐ προσηλύτους ἐπὶ προσευχὴν ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς *τοῦ φωτός*.

xx. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ *μέλανος* ὁδὸς *σκολιά ἐστι* καὶ κατάρας μεστή. ὁδὸς *γάρ ἐστι* θανάτου *αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶ τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν*. εἰδωλολατρεία, θρασύτης, ὕψος *δυνάμεως*, ὑπόκρισις, διπλοκαρδία, μοιχεία, φόνος, ἁρπαγή, ὑπερηφανία, *παράβασις*, δόλος, κακία, αὐθάδεια, φαρμακεία, μαγεία, πλεονεξία, *ἀφοβία θεοῦ*. διῶκται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες
ℵ ψεύδη ψεῦδος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ, οὐ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, *χηρᾷ καὶ ὀρφανῷ οὐ προσέχοντες*, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ *εἰς φόβον θεοῦ*, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ πονηρόν, ὧν μακρὰν *καὶ πόρρω* πραΰτης καὶ ὑπομονή, ἀγαπῶντες μάταια, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, *εὐχερεῖς ἐν καταλαλιᾷ*, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τεκνῶν, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί, παντὸς ἁμαρτητοί.

xxi. *Καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ μαθόντα τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ κυρίου, ὅσα γέγραπται, ἐν τούτοις περιπατεῖν*.....
εἰ δέ τις ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ μνεία, μνημονεύετέ μου, μελετῶντες ταῦτα, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία εἴς τι ἀγαθὸν χωρήσῃ.

The study of the discordances between these extracts and the Teaching is very interesting. For instance in c. xx. Barnabas has altered the Teaching from *ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν* to *ἀγρ. οὐκ εἰς φόβον θεοῦ*, but in the closing words of the epistle he shews his acquaintance with the other form by desiring that the care of his hearers for him may be *ἀγρυπνία εἴς τι ἀγαθόν*.

He shews his acquaintance with the form *ὁδὸς θανάτου* by inserting it in the beginning of c. xx. as an explanation of the black way.

In c. xix. the act of memory ("thou shalt remember day and night") is transferred from the teacher who speaks the word to the day of judgment, and that the change is due to Barnabas is clear from the fact that the Hebraistic term "night and day" has been replaced by "day and night."

The curious injunction as to clean and unclean meats in the Teaching, c. vi. 3, *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον*, was out of harmony with Barnabas' ideas, for he interprets the abstinence from pork and hare symbolically and hence we find the sentence changed to *ὅσον δύνασαι ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἁγνεύσεις*.

Probably these brief notes are sufficient to shew the acquaintance of Barnabas with a *Διδαχή* very little different from our own, which he seems to quote from memory.

Apostolical Canons.

Ecclesiastical Canons.

We come in the next place to the so-called Apostolic or Ecclesiastical Canons, a tract of great importance in the problems connected with the Teaching. It was edited by J. W. Bickell in 1843 from a Vienna MS[1] under the title *Αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.*

Cardinal Pitra repeated the text in his *Juris eccl. Gr. Monumenta,* using also a MS. in the Ottobonian library[2] which bears the title *Ἐπιτομὴ ὅρων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καθολικῆς παραδόσεως,* whence the book sometimes passes under the name of the Epitome. A third Codex[3] from the library of the Holy Synod at Moscow was employed by von Gebhardt with the title *ἐκ τῶν διατάξεων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων.* It exists also in Syriac, Coptic, Thebaic and Ethiopic[4]. This is the book which Hilgenfeld with some reason identifies with the lost book mentioned by Rufinus under the title *Duae Viae vel Judicium Petri,* the latter part of the title being derived by analogy from the story of the Judgment of Hercules in Xenophon. The order of this book is as follows: it opens with a salutation from the twelve apostles, among whom Peter appears twice, once as Peter and once as Cephas; the second James is wanting as also Matthias, and Nathanael is added to make up the number. The Apostles speak in turn, John being the prologizer; and their successive speeches are the fragments of the first six chapters of the Teaching of the Apostles, the very same omission being made from c. i. 3 to ii. 1 which we noted in Barnabas and in the Latin Version. The Vienna MS. has an additional portion evidently of later date which contains regulations for the ordination of bishops, presbyters, readers &c.

It will save time and prevent confusion of ideas, if we demonstrate at once the dependence of the first portion of these Canons upon the text of Barnabas.

First of all the preface is taken directly with a slight change from the epistle: *χαίρετε, νἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

Second, he follows Barnabas in one of his most adventurous emendations (viz. that in which he substitutes *ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου* for *ὡς κύριον*) but conflates it with the original reading.

Further, the first portion of the Canons closes with words which are taken from Barnabas, as the following extracts will shew:

Canon. Eccl. xiv. μὴ ἐκλείπητε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἐὰν ἔχητε. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα *κυρίου* ἐν ᾗ συναπολεῖται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ. *ἥξει γὰρ* ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ *μετ' αὐτοῦ.* ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται, ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδίδακτοι.

[1] Cod. Vind. 45.
[2] Cod. Ottobon. 408.
[3] S. Synodi 125 Cod. gr.
[4] See Lagarde, *Reliq. jur. eccl.*

Barnab. xxi. ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε τὸ καλόν· μὴ ἐλλίπητε· ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ συναπολεῖται τὰ πάντα τῷ πονηρῷ. ἐγγὺς ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. ἔτι καὶ ἔτι ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς· ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοί...γίνεσθε θεοδίδακτοι.

Observe also the expression in the Canons, xii. 2, *τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἱδρῶτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου*· and cf. Barnab. x. *οὐ μή, φησί, κολληθήσῃ οὐδὲ ὁμοιωθήσῃ ἀνθρώποις τοιούτοις, οἵτινες οὐκ οἴδασι διὰ κόπου καὶ ἱδρῶτος πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν τροφήν.*

He seems to have been aware of the curious passage in Barnabas *μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*, since he furnishes the key to the change made by Barnabas from remembering the teacher to remembering the judgment, in the words *λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν* (Canon. i.). We are to remember day and night what has been taught us because the day of judgment comes.

Notice further, that, although it may be taken for granted from the previous instances that the Canons depend on Barnabas, yet here also an acquaintance is shewn with the Teaching outside the limits of the epistle; for we find the following expression, *εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξίωσέ σοι δοθῆναι πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν.*

The writer of this must have been aware of the following sentences of the Teaching,

Διδ. x. 3. *ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου* (only the *παῖς* is now, not Jesus Christ, but some Church teacher).

Διδ. iv. 8. *εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, ποσῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς.*

There is also a trace of the "cosmic mystery of the church" (Διδ. xi. 11) in the words of Canon c. i. *πρὸς θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησίας ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται κτέ.*

Any argument therefore which is based upon the supposed restriction of the sources of the Ecclesiastical Canons to the first five chapters of the Teaching, or which assumes their independence of Barnabas in matters where they agree, falls to the ground.

The following is the text of that portion of the Canons which runs parallel with the Teaching:—

ΑΙ ΔΙΑΤΑΓΑΙ ΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

Cf. Barnab. i. 1.

1. Χαίρετε, *υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου* Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ματθαῖος καὶ Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας καὶ Φίλιππος καὶ Σίμων

καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ναθαναὴλ καὶ Θωμᾶς καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου.

Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος συναθροισθέντων ἡμῶν, καθὼς διέταξε πρὸ τοῦ· Μέλλετε κληροῦσθαι τὰς ἐπαρχίας, καταλογίσασθαι τόπων ἀριθμούς, ἐπισκόπων ἀξίας, πρεσβυτέρων ἕδρας, διακόνων παρεδρείας, ἀναγνωστῶν νουνεχίας, χηρῶν ἀνεγκλησίας, καὶ ὅσα δέοι πρὸς θεμελίωσιν ἐκκλησίας ἵνα τύπον τῶν ἐπουρανίων εἰδότες φυλάσσωνται ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀστοχήματος, εἰδότες, ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξουσιν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως περὶ ὧν ἀκούσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμψασθαι τοὺς λόγους εἰς ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην.

2. Ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τῆς ἀδελφότητος καὶ νουθεσίαν ἑκάστῳ ὡς ὁ κύριος ἀπεκάλυψε κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου μνησθεῖσι λόγου ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰδότες ὅτι λόγον ὑφέξομεν περὶ τῶν διατεταγμένων ἡμῖν, εἰς ἑνὸς πρόσωπον μὴ λαμβάνωμεν, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις δοκῇ τι συμφέρον ἀντιλέγειν, ἀντιλέγεσθω αὐτῷ. ἔδοξε δὲ πᾶσι πρῶτον Ἰωάννην εἰπεῖν.

Ἰωάννης εἶπεν Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὁδός τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη. πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ δοξάσεις τὸν λυτρωσάμενόν σε ἐκ θανάτου, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη. δεύτερον· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ δευτέρα· ἐν οἷς ὅλος ὁ νόμος κρέμαται καὶ οἱ προφῆται. Cf. Barnab. xix. 2.

Ματθαῖος εἶπε Πάντα ὅσα μὴ θέλεις σοὶ γενέσθαι, μηδὲ σὺ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις. τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων τὴν διδαχὴν εἰπέ, ἀδελφὲ Πέτρε.

Πέτρος εἶπεν Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις[1], οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς, οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις[2], οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις, οὐκ ἔσῃ δίγνωμος, οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος. παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἡ δίγλωσσία. οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός, οὐδὲ ψευδής, οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης, οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ, οὐδὲ ὑποκριτής, οὐδὲ κακοήθης, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος, οὐδὲ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις[3], περὶ ὧν δὲ προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.

Ἀνδρέας εἶπε Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος. ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς φόνον. ἔστι γὰρ δαιμόνιον ἀρρένικον ὁ θυμός. μὴ γίνου ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμαντικός. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων φόνος γεννᾶται.

Φίλιππος εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς

[1] Cod. Vind. omits these three clauses.
[2] Cod. Vind. omits these two clauses.
[3] Cod. Ottob. omits this clause.

τὴν πορνείαν *καὶ ἕλκει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἑαυτήν· ἔστι γὰρ θηλυκὸν δαιμόνιον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν μετ' ὀργῆς ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς εἰσδεχομένους αὐτά· ὁδὸς δὲ πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἁμαρτία ψυχῆς· καὶ ὅταν βραχείαν εἴσδυσιν σχῇ ἐν αὐτῷ, πλατύνει αὐτὴν καὶ ἄγει ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ κακὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκείνην καὶ οὐκ ἐᾷ διαβλέψαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ὁ θυμὸς ὑμῶν μέτρον ἐχέτω καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ διαστήματι αὐτὸν ἡνιοχεῖτε καὶ ἀνακρούετε, ἵνα μὴ ἐμβάλλῃ ὑμᾶς εἰς ἔργον πονηρόν. θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ ἡδονὴ πονηρὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ παραμένοντα κατὰ ἐπίτασιν δαιμόνια γίνεται. καὶ ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἰδαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γίνονται μείζονες καὶ ἀπάγουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔργα ἄδικα καὶ ἐπιγελῶσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἥδονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Σίμων εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνου αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων μοιχεῖαι γίνονται. (l. *γεννῶνται.*)

Ἰάκωβος εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνου οἰωνόσκοπος, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν, μηδὲ ἐπαοιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ *ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν*· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρεῖαι γεννῶνται.

Ναθαναὴλ εἶπε Τέκνον μὴ γίνου ψεύστης, ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπήν, μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

[Ἰούδας εἶπε] Τέκνον μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, ἐπειδὴ ἄγει πρὸς τὴν βλασφημίαν, μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρόφρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. ἴσθι δὲ πραΰς, ἐπειδὴ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσιν *τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν.* γίνου μακρόθυμος, ἐλεήμων, *εἰρηνοποιός, καθαρὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ,* ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος, ἀγαθός *καὶ φυλάσσων* καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἤκουσας· οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος, οὐδὲ κολληθήσῃ τῇ (l. *κολληθήσεται ἡ*) ψυχῇ (l. *ψυχή*) σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ· τὰ δὲ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Θωμᾶς εἶπε Τέκνον τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ *καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγῖδα ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,* μνησθήσῃ δὲ *αὐτοῦ* νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν κύριον. ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. ἐκζητήσεις δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον *αὐτοῦ* καθ' ἡμέραν *καὶ* τοὺς *λοιποὺς* ἁγίους, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύσῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν· *κολλώμενος γὰρ ἁγίοις ἁγιασθήσῃ· τιμήσεις αὐτὸν καθ' ὃ δυνατός εἶ, ἐκ τοῦ ἱδρῶτός σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόνου τῶν χειρῶν σου. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύριος δι' αὐτοῦ ἠξίωσέ σοι δοθῆναι* πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον, *σὺ ὀφείλεις πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν φθαρτὴν καὶ πρόσκαιρον προσφέρειν τροφήν. Ἄξιος γὰρ ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ Βοῦν ἀλοῶντα οὐ φιμώσεις, καὶ Οὐδεὶς φυτεύει ἀμπελῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει.*

Κηφᾶς εἶπεν Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως. οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπόν *τινα* ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώματι. *οὐ γὰρ ἰσχύει πλοῦτος παρὰ κυρίῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἄξια προκρίνει οὐδὲ κάλλος ὠφελεῖ ἀλλὰ ἰσότης ἐστὶ πάντων*

παρ' αὐτῷ. ἐν προσευχῇ σου μὴ διψυχήσῃς, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ. μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεόμενον, κοινωνήσεις δὲ ἁπάντων τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς.

Βαρθολομαῖος εἶπεν Ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὡς ἔτι καιρός ἐστι καὶ ἔχετε, εἰς οὓς ἐργάζεσθε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, μὴ ἐκλείπητε ἐν μηδενί, ἐξουσίαν ἐὰν ἔχητε· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου ἐν ᾗ συναπολεῖται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδίδακτοι. φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες μήτε προσθεὶς μήτε ὑφαιρῶν. Cf. Barnab. c. xxi.

The writer of the Canons has thus purposely divided the first part of the Teaching into twelve segments so as to give one to each of his imagined duodecad of Apostles; he knew the remainder of the book but it did not suit him; what has been added in some MSS. of the Canons is perhaps of another workmanship, and from the same hand proceeded the two introductory chapters which point out the importance of the several offices to which attention is drawn at the close of the book. Observe that the Canonist draws nothing from the fifth and sixth chapters of the Teaching, although Barnabas with whom he is acquainted uses the fifth chapter freely.

The Seventh book of the Apostolical Constitutions[1].

1. Τοῦ νομοθέτου Μωσέως εἰρηκότος τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις· Ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐπιφέροντος Ἐκλεξαι τὴν ζωὴν ἵνα ζήσῃς· καὶ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλία λέγοντος τῷ λαῷ Ἕως πότε χωλανεῖτε ἐπ' ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις ὑμῶν; εἰ θεός ἐστι κύριος, πορεύεσθε ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· εἰκότως ἔλεγε καὶ ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Οὐδεὶς δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει· ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἑπόμενοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ Χριστῷ, ὅς ἐστι σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πιστῶν, φαμὲν ὡς δύο ὁδοί εἰσι, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου. οὐδεμίαν δὲ σύγκρισιν ἔχουσι πρὸς ἑαυτὰς (πολὺ γὰρ τὸ διάφορον), μᾶλλον δὲ πάντῃ κεχωρισμέναι τυγχάνουσι· καὶ φυσικὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ὁδός, ἐπείσακτος δὲ ἡ τοῦ θανάτου, οὐ τοῦ κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ ὑπάρξαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.

2. Πρώτη οὖν τυγχάνει ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη, ἣν καὶ ὁ νόμος διαγορεύει, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς,

[1] The text is that of Lagarde, with emendations in such places as seemed necessary. It will be found that in not a few cases the editio princeps of Turrianus is closer to the text of the Teaching than Lagarde's.

τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον, παρ' ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτόν. Καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις. Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς, ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν. Ποία γὰρ ὑμῖν χάρις, ἐὰν φιλῆτε τοὺς φιλοῦντας ὑμᾶς; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐχθρὸν οὐχ ἕξετε· οὐ μισήσεις γάρ, φησί, πάντα ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ Αἰγύπτιον, οὐκ Ἰδουμαῖον, ἅπαντες γάρ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ ἔργα. φεύγετε δὲ οὐ τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὰς γνώμας τῶν πονηρῶν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν. Ἐάν τίς σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· οὐ φαύλης οὔσης τῆς ἀμύνης, ἀλλὰ τιμιωτέρας τῆς ἀνεξικακίας· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Δαβὶδ Εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδοῦσί μοι κακά. Ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο, καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέλοντος δανείσασθαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ἀποκλείσῃς τὴν χεῖρα· δίκαιος γὰρ ἀνὴρ οἰκτείρει καὶ κιχρᾷ· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ὁ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλων ἐπὶ πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθούς, καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν αὐτοῦ βρέχων ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους. πᾶσιν οὖν δίκαιον διδόναι ἐξ οἰκείων πόνων· Τίμα γάρ, φησί, τὸν κύριον ἀπὸ σῶν δικαίων πόνων· προτιμητέον δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους. Οὐ φονεύσεις, τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ φθερεῖς τὸν ὅμοιόν σοι ἄνθρωπον· διαλύεις γὰρ τὰ καλῶς γινόμενα· οὐχ ὡς παντὸς φόνου φαύλου τυγχάνοντος, ἀλλὰ μόνου τοῦ ἀθώου, τοῦ δ' ἐνδίκου ἄρχουσι μόνοις ἀφωρισμένου. Οὐ μοιχεύσεις· διαιρεῖς γὰρ τὴν μίαν σάρκα εἰς δύο· Ἔσονται γάρ, φησίν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν· ἓν γάρ εἰσιν ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ τῇ φύσει, τῇ συμπνοίᾳ, τῇ ἑνώσει, τῇ διαθέσει, τῷ βίῳ, τῷ τρόπῳ, κεχωρισμένοι δέ εἰσι τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῷ ἀριθμῷ. Οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· παρὰ φύσιν γὰρ τὸ κακὸν ἐκ Σοδόμων φυέν, ἥτις πυρὸς θεηλάτου παρανάλωμα γέγονεν· ἐπικατάρατος δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ ἐρεῖ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Γένοιτο γένοιτο. Οὐ πορνεύσεις· Οὐκ ἔσται γάρ, φησί, πορνεύων ἐν υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. Οὐ κλέψεις· Ἄχαρ γὰρ κλέψας ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Ἰεριχὼ λίθοις βληθεὶς τοῦ ζῆν ὑπεξῆλθε, καὶ Γιεζεῖ κλέψας καὶ ψευσάμενος ἐκληρονόμησε τοῦ Νεεμὰν τὴν λέπραν, καὶ Ἰούδας κλέπτων τὰ τῶν πενήτων, τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης παρέδωκεν Ἰουδαίοις καὶ μεταμεληθεὶς ἀπήγξατο καὶ ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Σαπφείρα ἡ τούτου γυνή, κλέψαντες τὰ ἴδια καὶ πειράσαντες τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου, παραχρῆμα ἀποφάσει Πέτρου τοῦ συναποστόλου ἡμῶν ἐθανατώθησαν.

Lag. om. καὶ σὺ and adds a gloss after ποιήσεις

Lag. κακῶν

Lag. om. εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα

Lag. om. ἓν

3. Οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις· Φαρμακοὺς γάρ, φησίν, οὐ περιβιώσετε. Οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον σου ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἀποκτενεῖς· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐξεικονισμένον, ψυχὴν λαβὸν παρὰ θεοῦ, φονευθέν, ἐκδικηθήσεται, ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέν. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου, οἷον τὴν γυναῖκα ἢ τὸν παῖδα ἢ τὸν βοῦν ἢ τὸν ἀγρόν. Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις· ἐρρέθη γὰρ μὴ ὀμόσαι ὅλως· εἰδὲ μήγε, κἂν εὐορκήσῃς, ὅτι ἐπαινεθήσεται πᾶς ὁ ὀμνύων ἐν αὐτῷ. Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, ὅτι ὁ συκοφαντῶν πένητα παροξύνει τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτόν.

4. Οὐ κακολογήσεις· Μὴ *ἀγάπα γάρ, φησί, κακολογεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξαρθῇς·* οὐδὲ μνησικακήσεις· *ὁδοὶ γὰρ μνησικάκων εἰς θάνατον.* Οὐκ ἔσῃ δίγνωμος οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ *ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χείλη, καὶ ἀνὴρ γλωσσώδης οὐ κατευθυνθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·* οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός· *περὶ παντὸς γὰρ λόγου ἀργοῦ δώσετε λόγον·* οὐ ψεύσῃ· *Ἀπολεῖς γάρ, φησί, πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας* Lag. om. *φησί*
τὸ ψεῦδος. Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ· *Οὐαὶ γάρ, φησίν, ὁ πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον πλεονεξίαν κακήν.* Οὐκ ἔσῃ ὑποκριτής, *ἵνα μὴ τὸ μέρος σου μετ' αὐτῶν θῇς.*

5. Οὐκ ἔσῃ κακοήθης, οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος· *ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται.* Οὐ λήψῃ *πρόσωπον δυνάστου ἐν κρίσει, ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις.* Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον· ἐλέγξεις *τὸν ἀδελφόν σου καὶ οὐ λήψῃ δι' αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν, καὶ Ἔλεγχε σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε.* Φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτῷ· *Ἄπεχε γάρ, φησίν, ἀπὸ ἀδίκου καὶ τρόμος οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ σοι.* Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος, *μηδὲ βάσκανος,* μηδὲ ζηλωτής, μηδὲ μανικός, μηδὲ *θρασύς, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃς τὰ τοῦ Κάϊν καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαοὺλ καὶ τὰ τοῦ* Lag. om. *ἵνα*
Ἰωάβ· ὅτι ὁ μὲν *ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ διὰ τὸ πρόκριτον αὐτὸν εὑρεθῆναι παρὰ θεῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ προσδεχθῆναι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτοῦ·* ὃς δὲ *τὸν ὅσιον Δαβὶδ ἐδίωκε νικήσαντα τὸν Γολιὰθ τὸν Φυλισταῖον, καὶ ζηλώσας* Lag. om. *τον* before *Γολιάθ*
ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν χορευτριῶν εὐφημίᾳ· ὃς δὲ τοὺς *δύο στρατάρχας ἀνεῖλε, τὸν* Lag. *στρατηλάτας*
Ἀβεννὴρ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τὸν Ἀμεσσὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰούδα.

6. Μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος, ὅτι ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς εἰδωλολατρείαν· *Οἰώνισμα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Σαμουήλ, ἁμαρτία ἐστί, καὶ Οὐκ ἔσται οἰωνισμὸς ἐν Ἰακὼβ οὐδὲ μαντεία ἐν Ἰσραήλ·* οὐκ ἔσῃ ἐπᾴδων ἢ περικαθαίρων *τὸν υἱόν σου, οὐ κλυδωνιεῖς, οὐδὲ οἰωνισθήσῃ, οὐδὲ ὀρνεοσκοπήσεις,* οὐδὲ μαθήσῃ μαθήματα Lag. *κληδονιεῖς*
πονηρά· *ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν.* Μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητὴς κακῶν, Lag. *μάθημα πονηρόν*
ὁδηγηθήσῃ γὰρ εἰς ἀμετρίαν ἁμαρτημάτων. Οὐκ ἔσῃ αἰσχρολόγος, οὐδὲ ὑψόφθαλμος, *οὐδὲ μέθυσος·* ἐκ γὰρ τούτων πορνεῖαι καὶ μοιχεῖαι γίνονται. Μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος, *ἵνα μὴ ἀντὶ θεοῦ δουλεύσῃς τῷ μαμωνᾷ.* Μὴ γίνου κενόδοξος, *μηδὲ μετέωρος, μηδὲ ὑψηλόφρων·* ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων *ἀλαζονίαι* γεννῶνται· *μνήσθητι τοῦ εἰπόντος, Κύριε, οὐχ ὑψώθη ἡ καρδία μου, οὐδὲ ἐμετεωρίσθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, οὐδὲ ἐπορεύθην ἐν μεγάλοις οὐδὲ ἐν θαυμασίοις ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, εἰ μὴ ἐταπεινοφρόνουν.*

7. Μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος, *μνησθεὶς τῆς τιμωρίας, ἧς ὑπέστησαν οἱ καταγογγύσαντες Μωσέως.* Μὴ ἔσο αὐθάδης, μηδὲ πονηρόφρων, *μηδὲ σκληροκάρδιος, μηδὲ θυμώδης, μηδὲ μικρόψυχος·* πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς βλασφημίαν· ἴσθι δὲ πρᾶος ὡς *Μωσῆς καὶ Δαβίδ,* ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι Lag. *γογγύσαντες κατὰ*
ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ.

8. Γίνου μακρόθυμος· *ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, ἐπείπερ ὁ ὀλιγόψυχος ἰσχυρὸς ἄφρων.* Γίνου ἐλεήμων· *μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐλεηθήσονται.* Ἔσο ἄκακος, ἥσυχος, ἀγαθός, τρέμων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ θεοῦ. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν *ὡς ὁ Φαρισαῖος·* ὅτι *πᾶς ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαυτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται, καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις βδέλυγμα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.* Οὐ δώσεις

τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος, *ὅτι ἀνὴρ θρασὺς ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς κακά.* Οὐ συμπορεύσῃ μετὰ ἀφρόνων, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σοφῶν καὶ δικαίων· *Ὁ συμπορευόμενος γὰρ σοφοῖς σοφὸς ἔσται, ὁ δὲ συμπορευόμενος ἄφροσι γνωσθήσεται.* Τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι πάθη εὐμενῶς δέχου *καὶ τὰς περιστάσεις ἀλύπως*, εἰδὼς ὅτι *μισθὸς παρὰ θεοῦ σοι δοθήσεται ὡς τῷ Ἰὼβ καὶ τῷ Λαζάρῳ.*

Lag. om. ὁ συμ....γνωσθήσεται
Lag. σοι παρὰ θεοῦ

9. Τὸν λαλοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ δοξάσεις, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν *οὐχ ὡς γενέσεως αἴτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναί σοι πρόξενον γινόμενον·* ὅπου γὰρ ἡ περὶ θεοῦ διδασκαλία, ἐκεῖ ὁ θεός πάρεστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἡμέραν τὸ πρόσωπον τῶν ἁγίων, ἵν' ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

10. Οὐ ποιήσεις σχίσματα *πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους, μνησθεὶς τῶν Κορειτῶν.* Εἰρηνεύσεις μαχομένους *ὡς Μωσῆς συναλλάσσων εἰς φιλίαν.* Κρινεῖς δικαίως· *τοῦ γὰρ κυρίου ἡ κρίσις.* Οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώματι, *ὡς Ἠλίας καὶ Μιχαίας τὸν Ἀχαάβ, καὶ Ἀβδεμέλεκ ὁ Αἰθίοψ τὸν Σεδεκίαν καὶ Νάθαν τὸν Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἡρῴδην.*

Lag. καταλλάσσων

11. Μὴ γίνου δίψυχος *ἐν προσευχῇ σου*, εἰ ἔσται ἢ οὔ· *λέγει γὰρ ὁ κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης Ὀλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας;* Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συστέλλων.

12. Ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· *ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι.* Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι *πτωχῷ*, οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀνταποδότης· *Ὁ ἐλεῶν γάρ, φησί, πτωχὸν κυρίῳ δανείζει, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δόμα αὐτοῦ οὕτως ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ.* Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ ἐνδεόμενον· *Ὃς φράσσει γάρ, φησί, τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦσαι τοῦ δεομένου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικαλέσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ εἰσακούων αὐτοῦ.* Κοινωνήσεις εἰς πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· *κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ μετάληψις παρὰ θεοῦ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρεσκευάσθη.* Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις αὐτοὺς τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ· *Παίδευε γάρ, φησί, τὸν υἱόν σου, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσται σοι εὔελπις.*

Lag. ἐνδεούμενον
Lag. ἀκοῦσαι
Lag. om. τοῦ
Lag. νε. αὐτῶν

13. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκῃ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν πεποιθόσιν ἐν πικρίᾳ ψυχῆς, μή ποτε *στενάξωσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ καὶ ἔσται σοι ὀργὴ παρὰ θεοῦ·* καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ *ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις.*

Lag. om. τῷ

14. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἂν ᾖ ἀρεστὸν κυρίῳ, ποιήσεις· οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες *παρ' αὐτοῦ*, μήτε προστιθεὶς *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* μήτε ἀφαιρῶν *ἀπ' αὐτῶν·* Οὐ *προσθήσεις γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐλέγξῃ σε καὶ ψευδὴς γένῃ.* Ἐξομολογήσῃ *κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου* τὰ ἁμαρτήματά σου *καὶ οὐκ ἔτι προσθήσεις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου*, ὃς οὐ βούλεται τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, *ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν.*

Lag. κυρίῳ ἀρεστὸν

15. Τὸν *πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα θεραπεύσεις ὡς αἰτίους σοι γενέσεως, ἵνα γένῃ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσί σοι·* τοὺς

ἀδελφούς σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς σου μὴ ὑπερίδῃς· τοὺς γὰρ οἰκείους τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψει.

16. Τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία· τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γάρ εἰσι πάσης ἀδικίας· οἷς ἀποτίσατε τέλος, φόρον καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσφορὰν εὐγνωμόνως..

17. Οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πονηρίας σου, πρὶν ἂν λύσῃς τὴν πικρίαν σου. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς, ἧς γένοιτο ἐντὸς ὑμᾶς εὑρεθῆναι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ ὁδός τοῦ θανάτου ἐστὶν ἐν πράξεσι πονηραῖς θεωρουμένη· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἄγνοια θεοῦ καὶ πολλῶν θεῶν ἐπεισαγωγή, δι' ὧν φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, πορνεῖαι, Lag. τοῦ θ.
ἐπιορκίαι, ἐπιθυμίαι παράνομοι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακεῖαι, ἁρπαγαί, ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδίαι, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία, αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία, διωγμὸς ἀγαθῶν, ἀλήθειας ἔχθρα, ψεύδους ἀγάπη, ἄγνοια δικαιοσύνης. οἱ γὰρ τούτων ποιηταὶ οὐ κολλῶνται ἀγαθῷ, οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ· ἀγρυπνοῦσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραότης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι ἐνδεόμενον, καταπονοῦντες θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων Lag. om. κατ. θλιβ.
ὑπερόπται, πανθαμάρτητοι. Ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἁπάντων.

19. Ὅρα μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας· Οὐκ ἐκκλινεῖς γάρ, φησίν, ἀπ' αὐτῆς δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερά; ἵνα συνῇς ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐὰν πράσσῃς· οὐ γάρ, Lag. σὺ γάρ, ἐὰν ἐκ.
ἐὰν μὴ ἐκτραπῇς ἔξω τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ, δυσσεβήσεις. Lag. om. ἔξω

20. Περὶ δὲ βρωμάτων λέγει σοι ὁ κύριος Τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς φάγεσθε, καὶ Πᾶν κρέας ἔδεσθε ὡς λάχανα χλόης, τὸ δὲ αἷμα ἐκχεεῖς· Οὐ γὰρ τὰ εἰσερχόμενα Lag. κρέα
εἰς τὸ στόμα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα, λέγω δὴ βλασφημίαι, καταλαλιαὶ καὶ εἴ τι τοιοῦτον. σὺ δὲ φάγῃ τὸν μυελὸν τῆς γῆς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης· ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ· σῖτος νεανίσκοις καὶ οἶνος εὐωδιάζων παρθένοις· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲξ αὐτοῦ; παραινεῖ Lag. om. παρ. ...λυπεῖσθε
δέ σοι καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Ἔσθρας λέγων Πορεύεσθε καὶ φάγετε λιπάσματα καὶ πίετε γλυκάσματα καὶ μὴ λυπεῖσθε.

21. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων φεύγετε, ἐπὶ τιμῇ γὰρ δαιμόνων θύονσι ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὕβρει δηλαδὴ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ, ὅπως μὴ γένησθε κοινωνοὶ δαιμόνων.

22. Περὶ δὲ βαπτίσματος, ὧ ἐπίσκοπε ἢ πρεσβύτερε, ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον διεταξάμεθα, καὶ νῦν δέ φαμεν ὅτι οὕτω βαπτίσεις, ὡς ὁ κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν λέγων Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν· τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος Πατρός, τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ, τοῦ μαρτυρήσαντος Παρακλήτου. χρίσεις δὲ πρῶτον ἐλαίῳ ἁγίῳ, ἔπειτα βαπτίσεις ὕδατι καὶ τελευταῖον σφραγίσεις μύρῳ· ἵνα τὸ μὲν χρίσμα μετοχὴ ᾖ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σύμβολον τοῦ θανάτου, τὸ δὲ μύρον σφραγὶς τῶν συνθηκῶν. εἰ δὲ μήτε ἔλαιον ᾖ μήτε μύρον, ἀρκεῖ ὕδωρ καὶ Lag. τὸ ὕδωρ

πρὸς χρίσιν καὶ πρὸς σφραγῖδα καὶ πρὸς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἤτοι συναποθνήσκοντος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύριος, πρῶτον βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον αὐλισθείς, μετέπειτα ἐνήστευσε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα νύκτας. ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐνήστευσεν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀπορυπώσεως ἢ νηστείας χρείαν ἔχων ἢ καθάρσεως ὁ τῇ φύσει καθαρὸς καὶ ἅγιος, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννῃ ἀλήθειαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν κύριος οὐκ εἰς ἑαυτοῦ πάθος ἐβαπτίσατο ἢ θάνατον ἢ ἀνάστασιν (οὐδέπω γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐγεγόνει), ἀλλ' εἰς διάταξιν ἑτέραν, διὸ καὶ ἀπ' ἐξουσίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα νηστεύει ὡς κύριος Ἰωάννου· ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον μυούμενος πρότερον ὀφείλει νηστεῦσαι καὶ τότε βαπτίσασθαι (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν συνταφέντα καὶ συναναστάντα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν κατηφεῖν), οὐ γὰρ κύριος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς διατάξεως τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος· ἐπείπερ ὁ μὲν δεσπότης, ὁ δὲ ὑπήκοος.

Lag. ὑπὸ Ἰω. πρ. βαπ.

Lag. βαπτισθῆναι

23. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ἢ τὰς πέντε νηστεύσατε ἡμέρας, ἢ τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν· ὅτι τῇ μὲν τετράδι ἡ κρίσις ἐξῆλθεν ἡ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, Ἰούδα χρήμασιν ἐπαγγειλαμένου τὴν προδοσίαν· τῇ δὲ παρασκευῇ, ὅτι ἔπαθεν ὁ κύριος ἐν αὐτῇ πάθος τὸ διὰ σταυροῦ ὑπὸ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν ἑορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα, τὸ δὲ ἀναστάσεως. ἓν δὲ μόνον σάββατον ὑμῖν φυλακτέον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἑορτάζειν· ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ὑπὸ γῆν τυγχάνει, ἰσχυρότερον τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ πένθος τῆς κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν χαρᾶς, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημιουργημάτων φύσει τε καὶ ἀξίᾳ τιμιώτερος.

Lag. πέμπτην

Lag. ὥσπερ

24. Ὅταν δὲ προσεύχησθε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διετάξατο, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ *βασιλεία* εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· *ἀμήν*. Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε, *προπαρασκευάζοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀξίους τῆς υἱοθεσίας τοῦ πατρός, ἵνα μή, ἀναξίως ὑμῶν αὐτὸν πατέρα καλούντων, ὀνειδισθῆτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ ὅ ποτε πρωτότοκος υἱὸς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Εἰ πατήρ εἰμι ἐγώ, ποῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα μου; καὶ εἰ κύριός εἰμι, ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ φόβος μου; δόξα γὰρ πατέρων ὁσιότης παίδων καὶ τιμὴ δεσποτῶν οἰκετῶν φόβος, ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ ἐναντίον ἀδοξία καὶ ἀναρχία· Δι' ὑμᾶς γάρ, φησί, βλασφημεῖται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.*

Lag. completes the doxology

Lag. om. φησί

25. *Γίνεσθε δὲ πάντοτε εὐχάριστοι, ὡς πιστοὶ καὶ εὐγνώμονες δοῦλοι·* περὶ μὲν τῆς εὐχαριστίας οὕτω λέγοντες· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου, *δι' οὗ καὶ τὰ πάντα*

ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὅλων προνοεῖς, ὃν καὶ ἀπέστειλας ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, ὃν καὶ συνεχώρησας παθεῖν καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, ὃν καὶ ἀναστήσας εὐδόκησας δοξάσαι καὶ ἐκάθισας ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐπηγγείλω ἡμῖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν νεκρῶν. Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, θεὲ αἰώνιε, ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο εἷς ἄρτος, οὕτω συνάγαγέ σου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς σὴν βασιλείαν. Ἔτι εὐχαριστοῦμεν, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, οὗ καὶ ἀντίτυπα ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦμεν, αὐτοῦ διαταξαμένου ἡμῖν καταγγέλλειν τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον· δι' αὐτοῦ γάρ σοι [? ἡ δύναμις] καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐσθιέτω ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀμυήτων, ἀλλὰ μόνοι οἱ βεβαπτισμένοι εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον. εἰ δέ τις ἀμύητος κρύψας ἑαυτὸν μεταλάβῃ, κρίμα αἰώνιον φάγεται, ὅτι μὴ ὢν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως μετέλαβεν ὧν οὐ θέμις, εἰς τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰ δέ τις κατὰ ἄγνοιαν μεταλάβοι, τοῦτον τάχιον στοιχειώσαντες μυήσατε, ὅπως μὴ καταφρονητὴς ἐξέλθοι. Lag. μεταλάβοι

26. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἔδωκας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν ὅλων, ἔκτισας τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ νόμον κατεφύτευσας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ πρὸς μετάληψιν προεγτρέπισας ἀνθρώποις· ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀμέμπτων πατέρων ἡμῶν, Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, τῶν πιστῶν δούλων σου· ὁ δυνατὸς θεός, ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀψευδὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ ἀποστείλας ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν σου ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, θεὸν ὄντα λόγον καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὴν πλάνην πρόρριζον ἀνελεῖν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δι' αὐτοῦ μνήσθητι τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας ταύτης, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελείωσον αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, καὶ συνάγαγε πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ. Μαραναθά· ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, θεὸς κύριος ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί. Εἴ τις ἅγιος, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δέ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω. Ἐπιτρέπετε δὲ καὶ τοῖς προφήταις ὑμῶν εὐχαριστεῖν. Lag. om. σου · Lag. ὁ κτίσας · Lag. om. ἐν · Lag. εὐτρέπισας · Lag. βασ. σου · Lag. αὐτήν

27. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μύρου οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, θεὲ δημιουργὲ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐωδίας τοῦ μύρου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀθανάτου αἰῶνος οὗ ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

Ὅς ἐὰν ἐλθὼν οὕτως εὐχαριστῇ, προσδέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητήν· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ παρ' ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν, τῷ τοιούτῳ μὴ συγχωρεῖτε εὐχαριστεῖν· ὑβρίζει γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος τὸν θεόν, ἣν δοξάζει.

28. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δοκιμασθείς, οὕτω δεχέσθω· σύνεσιν γὰρ

ἔχετε, καὶ δύνασθε γνῶναι δεξιὰν ἢ ἀριστερὰν καὶ διακρῖναι ψευδοδιδασκάλους διδασκάλων. Ἐλθόντι μέντοι τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐπιχορηγήσατε τὰ δέοντα· τῷ δὲ ψευδοδιδασκάλῳ, δώσετε μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὐ παραδέξεσθε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλάνην, οὔτε μὴν συμπροσεύξησθε αὐτῷ, ἵνα μὴ συμμιανθῆτε αὐτῷ. Πᾶς προφήτης ἀληθινὸς ἢ διδάσκαλος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς ὡς ἐργάτης λόγου δικαιοσύνης.

Lag. διαγνῶναι

Lag. adds δέοντα before πρὸς

29. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ, ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἵνα εὐλογηθῶσιν αἱ ἀποθῆκαι τῶν ταμείων σου καὶ τὰ ἐκφόρια τῆς γῆς σου, καὶ στηριχθῇς σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ, καὶ αὐξηθῇ τὰ βουκόλια τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τὰ ποίμνια τῶν προβάτων σου· πᾶσαν δεκάτην δώσεις τῷ ὀρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ, τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ. Πᾶσαν ἀπαρχὴν ἄρτων θερμῶν, κεραμίου οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἢ μέλιτος ἢ ἀκροδρύων, σταφυλῆς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν ἀπαρχὴν δώσεις τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος τῷ ὀρφανῷ καὶ τῇ χήρᾳ.

Lag. ταμείων

Lag. θερμῶν, ἄρτων

Lag. κεράμιον

Lag. ἢ ἱμ.

30. Τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν, τὴν κυριακὴν φαμεν, συνέρχεσθε ἀδιαλείπτως, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐξομολογούμενοι ἐφ' οἷς εὐηργέτησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ ῥυσάμενος ἀγνοίας, πλάνης, δεσμῶν· ὅπως ἄμεμπτος ἡ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν καὶ εὐανάφορος θεῷ, τῷ εἰπόντι περὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὅτι Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ προσενεχθήσεταί μοι θυμίαμα καὶ θυσία καθαρά· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας ἐγώ εἰμι, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

Lag. om. ὁ

Lag. ἢ after ὑμῶν

Lag. μέγ. βασ.

31. Προχειρίσασθε δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους, ἄνδρας εὐλαβεῖς, δικαίους, πραεῖς, ἀφιλαργύρους, φιλαλήθεις, δεδοκιμασμένους, ὁσίους, ἀπροσωπολήπτους, δυναμένους διδάσκειν τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὀρθοτομοῦντας ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κυρίου δόγμασιν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τιμᾶτε τούτους ὡς πατέρας, ὡς κυρίους, ὡς εὐεργέτας, ὡς τοῦ εὖ εἶναι αἰτίους.

Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ εἰρήνης. Πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου φυλάξατε. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν. Ἔστωσαν αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καιόμενοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅμοιοι ἀνθρώποις προσδεχομένοις τὸν κύριον ἑαυτῶν πότε ἥξει, ἑσπέρας ἢ πρωὶ ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ μεσονυκτίου· ἧ γὰρ ὥρᾳ οὐ προσδοκῶσιν, ἐλεύσεται ὁ κύριος, καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ ἀνοίξωσι, μακάριοι οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι εὑρέθησαν γρηγοροῦντες· ὅτι περιζώσεται καὶ ἀνακλινεῖ αὐτοὺς καὶ παρελθὼν διακονήσει αὐτοῖς. νήφετε οὖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε μὴ ὑπνῶσαι εἰς θάνατον· οὐ γὰρ ὀνήσει ὑμᾶς τὰ πρότερα κατορθώματα, ἐὰν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα ὑμῶν ἀποπλανηθῆτε τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἀληθοῦς.

Lag. brackets καὶ...αὐτοῖς

32. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς τοῦ λόγου, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη εἰς μῖσος· πληθυνθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν, μισήσουσι γὰρ ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ διώξουσι καὶ προδώσουσι. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρός, ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους προστάτης, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀνελεῖ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ὁ διὰ χειλέων

Lag. om. Ἰησοῦς

ἀναιρῶν ἀσεβῆ· καὶ πολλοὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, εἶτα φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ἔσται δι' ἀρχαγγέλου καὶ μεταζὺ ἀναβίωσις τῶν κεκοιμημένων· καὶ τότε ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας κατακρῖναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ. τότε ἀπελεύσονται οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ εἰς αἰώνιον κόλασιν, οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι πορεύσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κληρονομοῦντες ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· καὶ χαρήσονται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. κτέ.

Lag. ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας
Lag. οὗτος σωθήσεται
Lag. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

We pass on to the general quotations and references which are found in the early Fathers.

Ascensio Vatis Isaiae. [End of saec. i.]

Dillmann's Translation (iii. 21).

"Et deinde sub ejus appropinquationem missam facient discipuli ejus *doctrinam duodecim Apostolorum* et fidem et caritatem suam et sanctimoniam suam, et erit contentio multa de advéntu ejus et de appropinquatione ejus."

(iv. 2, 3.) "Descendet Berial angelus magnus rex hujus mundi cui dominatur ex quo exstat et descendet e firmamento suo in specie hominis regis iniquitatis matricidae, hic est rex hujus mundi, et plantam quam plantaverunt duodecim Apostoli Dilecti *persequetur;* e duodecim *in manum ejus tradetur.*"

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 4.....*καὶ διώξουσι*.....*καὶ ἡ γὴ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.*

(iv. 6.) "Et omnia quae voluerit faciet in mundo; faciet et loquetur Dilecti instar."

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 4, *φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανὴς ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ.*

The writer of these passages was a Christian[1] interpolating a Jewish Apocalypse; the complete work is now extant only in Ethiopic. As the quotation shews him expecting the World-deceiver under the form of Nero returning from his hiding-place in Parthia, he cannot be assigned to a very late date. It is interesting to find that in another passage he laments the decline of prophecy under the influence of the lust for power and love of gain in the Church.

iii. 27. "Nec erunt in illis diebus prophetae multi nec qui loquentur res confirmatas nisi singuli singulis locis, &c."

The Epistle of Jude. [End of saec. i. ?]

vv. 22, 23. Καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε *διακρινομένους*.....οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε *ἐν φόβῳ*.

Cf. Διδ. ii. 7, οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, [οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις].

[1] Dillmann, *Proleg.* xiii., "maxime apud Judaicam vel Essenicam Christianorum partem."

v. 12. *οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν σπιλάδες συνευωχούμενοι, ἀφόβως ἑαυτοὺς ποιμαίνοντες.*

Cf. Διδ. xi. 9, *καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν κτέ.*

v. 17. *μνήσθητε τῶν ῥημάτων τῶν προειρημένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅτι ἔλεγον ὑμῖν Ἐπ' ἐσχάτου χρόνου ἔσονται ἐμπαῖκται κτέ.*

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 3.

For the connexion between these passages and the Teaching see note on Διδ. xi. 9.

Ps.-Clement. Ep. ii. [Saec. ii.]

Although we may not be able to mark direct quotations from the Teaching in this book, there are some passages which are so suggestively like memories of the Teaching as to make us satisfied that the author of the homily was acquainted with the book of discipline: e.g.

2 Clem. iii. *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες* ΤΟΙΣ ΝΕΚΡΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ *οὐ θύομεν καὶ οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν αὐτοῖς ἀλλ' ἔγνωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας.*

Cf. Διδ. vi. 3, *λατρεία γάρ ἐστι* ΘΕΩΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ.

2 Clem. iv. *ἐν τῷ γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν ὑμᾶς κτήσασθαι αὐτὰ ἀποπίπτομεν* ΤΗΣ ΟΔΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΑΣ, and 2 Clem. vii. ΤΗΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΘΕΙΑΝ.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 3, *μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής.*

2 Clem. xvii. *μὴ ἀντιπαρελκώμεθα* ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΣΜΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΩΝ, *ἀλλὰ* ΠΥΚΝΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΙ *πειρώμεθα προκόπτειν ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς τοῦ κυρίου.*

Cf. Διδ. i. 4, *ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν* (l. ΚΟΣΜΙΚΩΝ) *ἐπιθυμιῶν* and xvi. 2, ΠΥΚΝΩΣ ΔΕ ΣΥΝΑΧΘΗΣΕΣΘΕ *ζητοῦντες κτέ.*

2 Clem. xviii. Cf. the singular expression *πανθαμαρτωλὸς* with *πανθαμάρτητος* of the Διδαχή c. v. 2. We shall shew that the word in the Teaching must have been coined for the occasion.

2 Clem. xx. *τῷ μόνῳ θεῷ, ἀοράτῳ πατρὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, τῷ ἐξαποστείλαντι ἡμῖν τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, δι' οὗ καὶ* ἐΦΑΝΕΡΩΣΕΝ ΗΜΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΟΝ ΖΩΗΝ, ΑΥΤΩ Η ΔΟΞΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΩΝ. *ἀμήν.*

Cf. Διδ. ix. 2, *εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,* ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΣΕΩΣ ΗΣ ΕΓΝΩΡΙΣΑΣ ΗΜΙΝ *διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·* ΣΟΙ Η ΔΟΞΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΑΣ.

The examination of the previous passages will shew that the writer of the homily may have been acquainted with the Teaching. The reminiscences are seen in the language and expressions, and in the sequence of ideas, as in the last passage quoted, where God is addressed in doxology because of the illumination granted to man through Jesus Christ.

Now if we have sufficient evidence to shew cumulatively an acquaintance with the Teaching, that is to say if we have, over and above the ideas and language belonging to a given period, such identities of thought and expression as go beyond accidental coincidence, then we must go a step further and note that these coincidences are not confined to the doctrine of the Two Ways but embrace also the liturgical (c. ix.) and eschatological (c. xvi.) portions of the Teaching; acquaintance is also probable with the seldom-quoted sixth chapter of the Teaching; and we therefore infer that the writer of the second Epistle of Clement was acquainted with the whole of the Teaching in a form not very different, if it differed at all, from our text. Let us then ask one more question: did the Teaching used by Ps.-Clement contain the passage omitted in Barnabas and the Latin Version (i. 3—ii. 1)? To determine this point turn to c. xiii. of the Epistle; *τὰ ἔθνη γὰρ ἀκούοντα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θαυμάζει· ἔπειτα καταμαθόντα τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξια τῶν ῥημάτων ὧν λέγομεν, ἔνθεν εἰς βλασφημίαν τρέπονται λέγοντες εἶναι μῦθόν τινα καὶ πλάνην· ὅταν γὰρ ἀκούσωσι παρ' ἡμῶν ὅτι λέγει ὁ θεός* **Οὐ** *χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ χάρις ὑμῖν εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ταῦτα ὅταν ἀκούσωσι, θαυμάζουσι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος.*

It seems likely that the instruction here given to the enquiring Gentile is a fixed form of oral tradition, in other words a *Διδαχὴ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* It is true that this communication is spoken of as being a part of the *λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ*, a term which would most commonly be taken to mean a collection of the sayings of Jesus; but even then it is not a little curious that the portion of the *λόγια* in discussion is precisely that which the Teaching of the Apostles has appropriated. Nor should we forget that the *Διδαχή* comes very near calling itself by the name of *λόγια* when it quotes from Isaiah the words *τρέμων τοὺς λόγους*. The pseudo-Athanasius in the *Syntagma Doctrinae* actually quotes the passage as *τὰ λόγια*, and the same reading is given in the Acts of Paul and Thecla[1]; may it not be an early term for the Teaching? We infer then that the writer of the epistle knew the whole of the Teaching as we have it in the Jerusalem MS. Now this epistle, or rather homily, was certainly read in the Corinthian Church, as the frequent reference to the Isthmian games plainly shews: and it is generally referred to the latter part of the second century. At this period, therefore, the Teaching was known in Corinth.

[1] In these Acts as edited by Grabe in his *Spicilegium* will be found the following sentence. (Gr. i. 96.) *μακάριοι οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθήσονται.* The expression is based upon the passage in Isaiah which the Teaching quotes in iii. 8 *καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διαπαντὸς οὓς ἤκουσας.* What is noticeable is that the variant *τὰ λόγια* for *τοὺς λόγους* is found also in Athanasius, *Syntagma Doctr.*, where the reference is certainly to the Teaching.

Justin Martyr. [Saec. ii.]

The next author whom we shall question as to his acquaintance with the Teaching is Justin Martyr. It is doubtful whether we have any direct quotation from the Teaching in Justin; at the same time there is no other early writer who contributes so much to the elucidation of the difficult passages of the Teaching. The two keys to these are taken from the hands of Barnabas and Justin. Of Barnabas no question arises nor do I think any could arise as to his acquaintance with the Teaching even if the last four chapters were subtracted from the Epistle. In the case of Justin there are some similarities in the argument to the imagined case of a truncated Barnabas. We have suspicions which might easily turn into certainties. The structure of the first Apology with its ground-plan of Christian ethics leading to Christian baptism, preceded by fasting and followed by a partaking of food which is explained to have relation to the prophecy in Malachi i. 10—12[1], is very like to the Teaching. So is the second Apology with its borrowed story of Hercules making the choice of the two ways. But it is from the Dialogue with Trypho that the most light comes on the Teaching: nor is the reason difficult to find; the Teaching is a Jewish-Christian book, and can best be illustrated by a discussion between a Christian and a Jew. Hence, as we shall see bye and bye, the obscure passages of the Teaching become intelligible as soon as we stand in the circumference of the circle of Jewish ideas of the first two centuries. The following passage should be noted as evidence of a settled Teaching existing in Justin's time though perhaps in various forms subject to party modifications.

Justin, *Dial.* 35. Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων· Καὶ μὴν πολλοὺς τῶν τὸν Ἰησοῦν λεγόντων ὁμολογεῖν καὶ λεγομένων Χριστιανῶν πυνθάνομαι ἐσθίειν τὰ εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου βλάπτεσθαι λέγειν.

Κἀγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην· Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτους εἶναι ἄνδρας ὁμολογοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι Χριστιανοὺς καὶ τὸν σταυρωθέντα Ἰησοῦν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνου διδάγματα διδάσκοντες ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πλάνης πνευμάτων, ἡμεῖς, οἱ τῆς ἀληθινῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ καθαρᾶς διδασκαλίας μαθηταί, πιστότεροι καὶ βεβαιότεροι γινόμεθα ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι τῇ κατηγγελμένῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

Here Justin asserts positively that the abstinence from idol-meats is a characteristic of the pure and genuine teaching, and that it is an ordinance of the Lord himself. Certainly no such precept is found in the Gospel, and the simplest solution is to assume that it was in the Διδαχὴ τοῦ Κυρίου. Justin's Teaching would thus have had a similar title to the longer form in the MS. and would have contained the sixth chapter as we have it. In the same chapter of the Dialogue, Justin states that the Lord is declared

[1] Quoted four times in the Dialogue with Trypho.

διά τε τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν γινομένων δυνάμεων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς διδαχῆς λόγων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προφητευθεισῶν εἰς αὐτὸν προφητειῶν.

A still more forcible illustration is found in Justin's discussion of the Curse that is attached to the name of Christ in c. 111 of the Dialogue with Trypho where he maintains that Christ was not *cursed* by the law, but he was only making it clear that he was going to save those *who did not depart from their faith:* an important passage for the interpretation of the last chapter of the Teaching, and, I think, a memory of it.

Justin, *Dial.* 111. ὁ οὖν παθητὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς Χριστὸς οὐ κατηράθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ μόνος σώσειν τοὺς μὴ ἀφισταμένους τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐδήλου.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 5.

Hermas. [Latter half of second century?]

Vis. iii. 4[1]. Ἀποκαλυφθήσεται διὰ τοὺς διψύχους τοὺς διαλογιζομένους ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν.

Cf. Διδ. iv. 4. Οὐ διψυχήσεις πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐκ ἔσται.

Mand. ii. Ἐργάζου τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς· πᾶσιν δίδου· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων· οἱ οὖν λαμβάνοντες ἀποδώσουσιν λόγον τῷ θεῷ διὰ τί ἔλαβον καὶ εἰς τί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνοντες θλιβόμενοι οὐ δικασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνοντες τίσουσιν δίκην. ὁ οὖν δίδους ἀθῷός ἐστιν· ὡς γὰρ ἔλαβε παρὰ κυρίου τὴν διακονίαν τελέσαι, ἁπλῶς αὐτὴν ἐτέλεσεν μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ.

Cf. Διδ. c. i. 5.

This passage is quoted from Hermas by Antiochus *Hom.* (in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xcviii. p. 1183), as follows: καλὸν οὖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κόπων ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιχορηγεῖ πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις παρέχειν ἁπλῶς μηδὲν διστάζοντα τίνι δῷς, τίνι μὴ δῷς· πᾶσιν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς δίδοσθαι θέλει ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δωρημάτων καὶ μὴ διακρῖναι τίνι δῷ ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷ· ἡ γὰρ διακονία κτέ.

It is also quoted *from Hermas* by Clem. Alex. as we shall see presently.

Mand. vi. 2. Πίστευε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρά ἐστι.

Cf. Διδ. v. 1. Note also in Mand. vi. the allusions to the ὁδὸς ὀρθή and ὁδὸς στρεβλή. Some slight parallels may be traced in Mand. viii.

Bryennios also refers largely to the 11th Mandatum, but the resemblances are too general to have much weight.

[1] Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 29. 181.

From what precedes it would seem that Hermas was acquainted with the Teaching, and that the portions omitted by Barnabas and the Latin Version were in his text: also he knew the gloss which expounds two angels who preside over the Two Ways.

Theophilus of Antioch. [Saec. ii.]

In his treatise to Autolycus will be found a passage which is suggestive of the earlier portions of the Teaching[1].

Ad Autolycum, ii. 34.

Οἱ (sc. προφῆται) καὶ ἐδίδαξαν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθεμίτου εἰδωλολατρείας καὶ μοιχείας, καὶ φόνου, πορνείας, κλοπῆς, φιλαργυρίας, ὅρκου ψεύδους, ὀργῆς καὶ πάσης ἀσελγείας, καὶ ἀκαθαρσίας· καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἂν μὴ βούλεται ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μηδὲ ἄλλῳ ποιῇ.

The language certainly reminds one of the Teaching, but it is doubtful whether an identification can be maintained: Theophilus goes on as if he were quoting from the Old Testament, ὁ μὲν οὖν θεῖος νόμος κωλύει κτέ. .....διό φησιν ὁ ἅγιος νόμος· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου.

Clement of Alexandria. [Saec. ii.—iii.]

Strom. i. xx. ad. fin. (ed. Dind. ii. 83). Οὗτος κλέπτης ὑπὸ τῆς γραφῆς εἴρηται· φησὶ γοῦν· υἱέ, ΜΗ ΓΙΝΟΥ ΨΕΥΣΤΗΣ· ὁΔΗΓΕΙ γὰρ ΤΟ ΨΕΥΣΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΟΠΗΝ.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 5.

From the Catena of Nicetas. (Ed. Dind. iii. 492.)

Ποιητέον ἐλεημοσύνας ἀλλὰ μετὰ κρίσεως καὶ τοῖς ἀξίοις ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἀνταπόδομα παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου· οὐαὶ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν, ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων βουλομένοις· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων καὶ δι' ὑπόκρισιν ἢ ἀργίαν λαμβάνων κατακριθήσεται.

The expression ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν shews that this does not involve the direct use of the Teaching c. i. 5, but of Hermas, Mand. ii.

Quis div. salv. § 29. Οὗτος ὁ τὸν οἶνον τὸ αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου τῆς Δαβὶδ ἐκχέας ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τετρωμένας ψυχάς.

Cf. Διδ. ix. 2, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου.

Paedagogus, iii. 12. 89. Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ δεκάλογος ἡ διὰ Μωϋσέως..... περιγράφουσα· Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐκ εἰδωλολατρήσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου· καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις.

[1] Noted by Funk, *Doctrina*, p. xiii.

Perhaps coloured by the Teaching.

Paed. ii. 10. 89. Ἀπηγόρευσε Μωϋσῆς...οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.

Protrept. x. 108. Ὁ δὲ θεὸς νομοθέτης. Τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ νόμοι; οὐ φονεύσεις· οὐ μοιχεύσεις· οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις· οὐ κλέψεις· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τούτων τὰ παραπληρώματα, λόγιοι νόμοι, καὶ ἅγιοι λόγοι, ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγραφόμενοι ταῖς καρδίαις· Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν· καί· τῷ τύπτοντί σε εἰς τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.

In the last passage the reference to the Teaching is almost certain. Nor will it be unnoticed that if so Clement knew the Teaching as we have it including the section i. 3—ii. 1, and that he describes the passage by the significant term παραπλήρωμα.

Tertullian. [Saec. ii. iii.]

The following references to the greatest of the Latin fathers may be compared with the Teaching.

De praescr. haer. xli. "Pariter audiunt, pariter orant: etiam ethnici si supervenerint, sanctum canibus et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt."

Cf. Διδ. ix. 5.

Adv. Marc. iv. 1. "Quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glorificatum est in nationibus nomen meum et in omni loco sacrificium[1] nomine meo offertur et sacrificium mundum scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura."

Cf. Διδ. xiv. 3.

The last part of the sentence should also be compared with Διδ. iv., οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ.

De Spectaculis, 24. Quod autem eieramus, neque dicto, neque visu, neque prospectu participare debemus.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 4, μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν.

Further evidence will be necessary, before we can positively assert Tertullian's acquaintance with the Teaching.

Dionysius of Alexandria. [† 265.]

I suppose it is to this writer that we must refer the following extract which is to be found in the Parallels of John of Damascus.

Dam. Par. 674. Διονυσίου· Μηδὲν τῶν συμβαινόντων χωρὶς ἂν γενέσθαι θεοῦ πεπεῖσθαι χρή· εἶναι δὲ ἀγαθὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ πάντα κἂν ἀλγεινὰ ᾖ.

The reference to the Teaching c. iii. 10 may I think be accepted. The extract is probably from the treatise *De Natura adv. Epicureos* of which portions are preserved by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* xiv.

[1] We should expect "incensum."

The Sibylline Oracles and Ps.-Phocylides.

I have discussed the parallelisms between the Teaching of the Apostles and the early poetic Didascalia in the tract on *The Teaching of the Apostles and the Sibylline Books*, with the object of shewing the dependence of the latter (i.e. the Sibylline literature) upon the former. Some suspicions arise in the investigation that the Doctrine of the Two Ways is a Jewish handbook for proselytes and earlier than the Christian era, a view which was proposed originally by Dr Taylor and has since been elaborated by Harnack in *Die Apostellehre und die Jüdischen beiden Wege*.

In giving the most striking of the quotations and references to the Sibylline literature I arrange the extracts as in the tract referred to with some chronological landmarks borrowed from Alexandre. For the rest, reference may be made to the tract itself.

α. Teaching i. Διδαχὴ κυρίου *διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.* ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί *κτέ.*

Orac. Sib. vi. 9 [234 A.D.]

δείξει δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὁδοὺς, *δείξει δὲ* κελεύθους
οὐρανίους· πάντας δὲ σοφοῖς μύθοισι διδάξει.

β. Teaching i. ὁδοὶ δύο *εἰσί, μία τῆς* ζωῆς *καὶ μία τοῦ* θανάτου.

Orac. Sib. viii. 399 [age of Antonines]

αὐτὸς ὁδοὺς *προέθηκα* δύο, ζωῆς θανάτου *τε,*
καὶ γνώμην προέθηκ' ἀγαθὴν ζωὴν προέλεσθαι.

γ. Teaching i. πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν *τὸν ποιήσαντά σε·* δεύτερον, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Orac. Sib. viii. 481 [250 A.D.]

ἐν κραδίῃ τε ταπεινοφρονεῖν, πικρὰ τέρματα μισεῖν
καὶ πάντως ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον ὥσπερ ἑαυτόν·
καὶ θεὸν *ἐκ ψυχῆς φιλέειν, αὐτῷ δὲ λατρεύειν.*
τοὔνεκ' ἄρ' ἡμεῖς, ὅσίης χριστοῖο γενέθλης
οὐρανίης πεφυῶτες, ἐπικλεόμεσθα σύναιμοι,
μνῆστιν εὐφροσύνης ἐπὶ θρησκείῃσιν ἔχοντες,
εὐσεβίης τε καὶ ἀτρεκίης βαίνοντες ἀταρπούς.

δ. Teaching i. *παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ* ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων.

Orac. Sib. ii. 88 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 29[1]

πλοῦτον ἔχων σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὄρεξον·
ὧν τοι ἔδωκε θεὸς, *τούτων χρῄζουσι παράσχου.*

[1] The dates of these compositions are matters of much uncertainty.

The sentiment will also be found in the Preaching of Peter with close parallelism to the Διδαχή. Cf. Hilgenfeld, *Praedicatio Petri*, p. 57.

ε. *Teaching* i. ἱλαρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη *σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 77, cf. *Ps.-Phocyl.* 23

πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου μητ' αὔριον ἐλθέμεν εἴπῃς·
ἱλαρῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρῄζοντι παράσχου·
ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.

ϛ. *Teaching* ii.
οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις.

Ps.-Phocyl. 3
μήτε γαμοκλοπέειν, μήτ' ἄρσενα κύπριν ὀρίνειν·
μήτε δόλους ῥάπτειν μηθ' αἵματι χεῖρα μιαίνειν.

Similar conjunctions are found in the Sibyllines, *passim*.

ζ. *Teaching* ii. *οὐ* μαγεύσεις, *οὐ* φαρμακεύσεις.

Ps.-Phocyl. 149
φάρμακα μὴ *τεύχειν·* μαγικῶν *βίβλων ἀπέχεσθαι.*

η. *Teaching* ii. οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν *ἀποκτενεῖς.*

Orac. Sib. iii. 762 [165 B.C.]
μοιχείαν πεφύλαξο καὶ ἄκριτον ἄρσενος εὐνήν·
τὴν δ' ἰδίαν γένναν παίδων τρέφε μηδὲ φονεύσῃς.

Orac. Sib. ii. 280 [250 A.D.]
ὅσσαι δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι φόρτους
ἐκτρώσκουσιν, ὅσοι τοκετοὺς ῥίπτουσιν ἀθέσμους,
φαρμακοὶ ἢ καὶ φαρμακίδες.

Ps.-Phocyl. 184
μηδὲ γυνὴ φθείροι βρέφος *ἔμβρυον ἔνδοθι γαστρός,*
μηδὲ τεκοῦσα *κυσὶν ῥίψῃ, καὶ γυψὶν ἕλωρα.*

ι. *Teaching* ii. *οὐκ* ἐπιορκήσεις, *οὐ* ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.

Orac. Sib. ii. 68 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 16
μηδὲ ἐπιορκήσῃς, *μήτ' ἀγνὼς μήτ' εἰκαῖος.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 64 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 12
μαρτυρίην ψευδῆ *φεύγειν, τὰ δίκαια βραβεύειν.*

ια. *Teaching* ii. *οὐκ ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ* δίγλωσσος· *παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία· οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου* ψευδὴς...*οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ* ἅρπαξ *οὐδὲ* κακοήθης *οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος.*

Orac. Sib. iii. 37, 38, 40 [250 A.D.]

ἀνθρώπων ψευδῶν διγλώσσων *καὶ* κακοηθῶν,
λεκτροκλόπων, εἰδωλολατρῶν, δόλια φρονεόντων,
. . . . . .
αὐτοῖς ἁρπάζοντες, *ἀναίδεα θυμὸν ἔχοντες.*

ιγ. Teaching iii. *τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ* παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

Orac. Sib. ii. 145 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 76

σωφροσύνην ἀσκεῖν, αἰσχρῶν δ' ἔργων ἀπέχεσθαι,
μὴ μιμοῦ κακότητα.

ιδ. Teaching iii. *μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ* ὀργὴ *πρὸς τὸν* φόνον.

Orac. Sib. ii. 126 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 57

μὴ προπετὴς ἐς χεῖρα· χαλίνου δ' ἄγριον ὀργήν.
πολλάκις γὰρ πλήξας, ἀέκων φόνον *ἐξετέλεσσε.*

ιε. Teaching iii. *μὴ γίνου* ὀργίλος...*μηδὲ* ζηλωτὴς *μηδὲ* ἐριστικὸς *μηδὲ* θυμικός.

Orac. Sib. ii. 135 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 63

θυμὸς *ὑπερχόμενος μανίην ὀλοόφρονα τεύχει.*
ὀργὴ *δ' ἐστὶν ὄρεξις, ὑπερβαίνουσα δὲ μῆνις.*
ζῆλος *γὰρ ἐσθλῶν ἀγαθός, φαύλων δ' ἀΐδηλος.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 147 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 78

πείθω μὲν γὰρ ὄνειαρ, ἔρις *δ' ἔριν ἀντιφυτεύει.*

ις. Teaching iii. *τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου* οἰωνοσκόπος· *ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν· μηδὲ* ἐπαοιδὸς *μηδὲ* μαθηματικός.

Orac. Sib. iii. 225 [165 B.C.]

οὐ μάντεις, *οὐ φαρμακέας, οὐ μὴν* ἐπαοιδούς,
οὐ μύθων μωρῶν ἀπάτας ἐγγαστριμύθων,
οὐδὲ τὰ Χαλδαίων τὰ προμάντια ἀστρολογοῦσιν
οὐδὲ μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσι.....
234 *τοῦ πεπλανῆσθαι* ὁδοὺς *τ' ἀγαθάς...*

ιζ. Teaching iv. *κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν.*

Teaching v. *πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων ἄνομοι κριταί.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 61 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 9

πάντα δίκαια νέμειν, μηδὲ κρίσιν ἐς χάριν ἕλκε,
μὴ ῥίψῃς πενίην ἀδίκως, μὴ κρίνε πρόσωπον.

ιθ. Teaching iv. *οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις, γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 78 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* 22 *πτωχοῖς εὐθὺ δίδου.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 91

μήποτε ἄνδρα πένητα ἰδὼν σκώψῃς ἐπέεσσι.

Orac. Sib. ii. 274

ὁπόσοι δ' ἰδίων ἀπὸ μόχθων
δόντες ὀνειδίζουσιν.

Orac. Sib. ii. 80

ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἷδε δανείζειν.

κα. Teaching vi. *περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 96 = *Ps.-Phocyl.* [32]

αἷμα δὲ μὴ φαγέειν, εἰδωλοθύτων δ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

κβ. Teaching vi. *λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.*

Orac. Sib. viii. 46 [time of Trajan]

καὶ πάντων ὧν ἐσεβάσθης
δαίμονας ἀψύχους νεκρῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων.

Orac. Sib. viii. 393 [time of Antonines]

ταῦτα γὰρ ἐς μνήμην βασιλήων ἠδὲ τυράννων
δαίμοσι ποιήσουσι νεκροῖς ὡς οὐρανίοισι.

κγ. Teaching vii. Βαπτίσατε *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ* Πατρὸς *καὶ τοῦ* Υἱοῦ *καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου* Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

Orac. Sib. iv. 165 [time of Titus]

ἐν ποταμοῖς λοῦσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενάοισι,
χεῖρας τ' ἐκτανύσαντες ἐς αἰθέρα, τῶν πάρος ἔργων
συγγνώμην αἰτεῖσθε καὶ εὐσεβίαις ἀσεβείαν
πικρὰν ἰάσασθε.

Orac. Sib. viii. 315 [time of Antonines]

ἀθανάτου πηγῆς *ἀπολουσάμενοι ὑδάτεσσι*
τὰς πρότερου κακίας ἵνα γεννηθέντες ἄνωθεν
μηκέτι δουλεύωσιν ἄθεσμοις ἤθεσι κόσμου,

a passage which recalls also the language of the fourth gospel.

κδ. Teaching vii. *ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα* Πατρὸς *καὶ* Υἱοῦ *καὶ ἁγίου* Πνεύματος.

Orac. Sib. vii. 87 [234 A.D.]

οὐδὲ θύρην κλείσεις ὅτε τίς σοι ἐπήλυτος ἄλλος
ἥξει δυόμενος, πενίης ἀπερυκέναι λιμόν,
ἀλλὰ λαβὼν κεφαλὴν τοῦδ' ἀνέρος, ὕδατι ῥάνας,
εὖξαι τρίς.

κζ. Teaching xii. *τεχνίτης ὤν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει* τέχνην *κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται* Χριστιανός.

Ps.-Phocyl. 154

πᾶς γὰρ ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ζώει κλοπίμων ἀπὸ χειρῶν.
τέχνη τοι τρέφει ἄνδρας, ἀεργὸν δ' ἴψατο λιμός.
εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάηκε τέχνην, *σκάπτοιτο δικέλλῃ.*

We come now to the doctrine of the Last Things.

κη. Teaching xvi. *ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ* ψευδοπροφῆται *καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 165 [250 A.D.]

ἡ δὲ συναίρεσις ἐγγὺς ὅταν τινὲς ἀντὶ προφητῶν
ψευδαπάται *πελάσωσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φημίζοντες.*

κθ. Teaching xvi. *καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ* ποιήσει σημεῖα *καὶ τέρατα.....καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 167

καὶ Βελιὰρ *δ' ἥξει καὶ* σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει.

Orac. Sib. iii. 52 [250 A.D.]

ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελιὰρ *μετόπισθεν*
. . . . . .
καὶ νέκυας στήσει καὶ σήματα πολλὰ ποιήσει
ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τελεσφόρα ἔσσετ' ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀλλὰ πλάνα *κτέ.*

λ. *Teaching* xvi. τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας.

Orac. Sib. iii. 86 [250 A.D.] καὶ κτίσιν *αὐτὴν*
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει *καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.*

Orac. Sib. viii. 412 [age of Antonines]

χωνεύσω γὰρ ἅπαντα καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξω.

Orac. Sib. ii. 217 [250 A.D.] *ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντα*
εἰς ἓν χωνεύσει καὶ εἰς καθαρὸν διαλέξει.

λα. *Teaching* xvi. *οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 253 [250 A.D.]

καὶ τότε δὴ πάντες δι' αἰθομένου ποταμοῖο
καὶ φλογὸς ἀσβέστου διελεύσονθ', οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι
πάντες σωθήσονται.

λβ. *Teaching* xvi. *καὶ τότε φανήσεται* τὰ σημεῖα *τῆς ἀληθείας, πρῶτον, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ* τὸ τρίτον *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.*

Orac. Sib. ii. 187 [250 A.D.]

καὶ τόθ' ὁ Θεσβίτης[1] γε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἅρμα τιταίνων
οὐράνιον, γαίῃ δ' ἐπιβὰς τότε σήματα τρισσὰ
κόσμῳ ὅλῳ δείξει.

λγ. *Teaching* xvi. ἥξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Orac. Sib. ii. 242

ἥξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς τ' ἄφθιτον ἄφθιτος αὐτὸς
ἐν δόξῃ Χριστὸς σὺν ἀμύμοσιν ἀγγελτῆρσι.

Against the use made by me of the previous quotations grave exception has been taken by Funk in the Prolegomena to his *Doctrina XII. Apost.* pp. xix.—xxii. He denies, apparently, any connexion between Ps.-Phocylides and the Teaching, and is equally sceptical as to any common ground between the Teaching and the Sibylline Oracles.

With reference to the former, his objections resolve themselves into a series of arguments from the silence of the Phocylidist; as that, while admitting that the Teaching and Ps.-Phocylides have much in common, there is no mention of the way of life and the way of death; that the three principal commandments are omitted, that the whole of the third chapter of the Teaching furnishes no parallels, and further that Ps.-Phocylides has for his chief source the Old Testament. Now it is evident from the foregoing that even if Ps.-Phocylides had mentioned the two ways by name, as is done in *Sib.* viii. 399, it would have been impossible to convince Dr Funk that there was anything in the allusion, for it would fall under the head of a quotation from the Old Testament. And in fact the passage referred to from the Sibyllines is thus considered by him as leaving the matter altogether in doubt.

Further, a reference to the preceding extracts will shew that, so far from its being the case that there are no parallelisms between the third chapter of the Teaching and Ps.-Phocylides, the most striking illustration of the saying that "anger leads to murder" is the Phocylidean verse on the subject; notice also the Phocylidean injunction to abstain from all that is "an imitation of evil." There remains then the consideration as to the omission of the great commandments of the Teaching.

There is certainly some difficulty in this omission, since they are all quotations from the Old Testament; but there may very well have been current forms of Jewish Didascalia which did not contain the most advanced of the doctrines in the Teaching, and we have then a sufficient background for the versifications of Ps.-Phocylides and for the expansions of the Teaching, and by implication for their common matter. For example, it is almost inconceivable that such an ethical treatise should not have had in some recensions

[1] According to the Jewish belief Elias comes first and gives the signs of the Advent.

a trace of the commandment "Honour thy father and thy mother." Now Ps.-Phocylides gives, v. 8,

πρῶτα θεὸν τίμα, μετέπειτα δὲ σεῖο γονῆας,

and may it not have stood so in some Jewish handbook? but the Teaching of the Apostles, while it has dealt with all the rest of the Decalogue, omits the precepts on paternal honour and on the sabbath. The latter omission is, no doubt, intentional; but no such hypothesis will explain the former. What has happened, then, must be that a new commandment has been substituted for "Honour thy father," and the composer omitted to restore the displaced doctrine at a later point of the book. Hence we read in the Teaching

πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν,

and find nothing whatever on the fourth commandment. It is no slight confirmation of the view which exhibits a common base for Ps.-Phocylides and the Teaching, to find the author of the second book of the Sibyllines, when appropriating to himself the Phocylidean verses, adding just the very words which would imply a consciousness on his part of the parallelism between the two earlier writings; for he adds to his Phocylides-extracts the words

τοῦτο πύλη ζωῆς καὶ εἴσοδος ἀθανασίας,

which are sufficiently near, for poetry, to the words of the Teaching itself,

αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is still possible, Dr Funk's criticisms notwithstanding, to maintain that Ps.-Phocylides is either a metrical simplification of our Teaching, or a versification of an earlier book of Discipline with which our own Teaching is not altogether unconnected; as well as to hold that some of the Sibyllists shew acquaintance with the Teaching. Perhaps one may add in conclusion that there is always something to be said for a view which clears up an obscurity in a subject; that which makes other things intelligible can hardly be itself unreasonable. Now it is precisely in the Sibylline oracles that I found the best and most conclusive explanation of the difficult term in the Teaching ἐκπέτασις ἐν οὐρανῷ, namely the interpretation which makes the words stand for a cross in the sky. Upon turning to Dr Funk's commentary on this passage, I was surprised to find that he did not even notice that such an explanation had been given! It is, however, the true interpretation of a very obscure word arrived at independently by several investigators, and involves, I think, a knowledge of the terms of the Teaching on the part of the Sibyllist[1] who wrote

ἐκπετάσει δὲ χέρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει.

[1] Orac. Sib. viii. 302.

So much, then, having been said on the Phocylidean and Sibylline parallels to the Teaching, the matter must again be left to the judgment of patristic scholars.

Origen. [Saec. iii.]

De Principiis iii. 2 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xi. 313).

"Omnia haec quae fiunt in hoc mundo quae media existimantur sive illa tristia sint sive quoquomodo sint, non quidem a Deo fiunt nec tamen *sine Deo*.....Propterea docet nos Scriptura Divina *omnia quae accidunt nobis* tanquam a Deo illata suscipere, *scientes quod sine Deo nihil fit.*"

Cf. Διδ. iii. 10.

We have here a similar phenomenon to that presented by Clement of Alexandria who speaks of the Teaching as Scripture. In the present case, however, it is the epistle of Barnabas that is referred to by Origen. For in the same book just before the passage given above he quotes (iii. 2. 4) the doctrine of the Two Ways from Barnabas expressly and not from the Teaching[1]. In book iii. 3. 3 he discusses the whole question of *ἐνεργήματα* or actions and events as under the direction and influence of good and evil spirits, maintaining that there are certain spiritual *energies* or powers which in accordance with their own free choice have elected to themselves certain modes of operation; and in particular they preside over the arts and sciences of this world. It is precisely this conception of spiritual directive force which is implied in the use of the word *ἐνεργήματα* by the author of the Teaching.

Homil. vi. in Judic.[2] (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xii. 975).

"Antequam verae vitis, quae ascendit de radice David, sanguine inebriemur."

Cf. Διδ. ix. 2, *τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβίδ.*

The Apostolical Constitutions. [iii.—iv. saec.]

i. 1. *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πιστεύσασιν κτέ.*

Cf. Διδ. i. 1.

i. 1. *ὃ σὺ μισεῖς ὑφ' ἑτέρου σοι γενέσθαι, σὺ ἄλλῳ οὐ ποιήσεις.....*
οὐ βούλει σου τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀρθῆναι, μηδὲ σὺ τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἄρῃς.....

Cf. Διδ. i. 2, 3.

i. 2. *ἀλλὰ καταρᾶταί σέ τις, σὺ εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.*

Cf. Διδ. i. 3.

[1] Hence Prof. T. S. Potwin was wrong in referring this quotation of Origen to the Teaching. See *N. Y. Independent*, Jan. 21, 1886.

[2] See Bornemann, *Theol. Lz.* No. 17, 1885.

ii. 1. *πρᾳὸς ὑπαρχέτω...καὶ ἡσύχιος, ὅτι λέγει διὰ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἐπὶ τίνα διαβλέψω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέμοντά μου τοὺς λόγους διαπαντός; ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ οὕτω Μακάριοι οἱ πρᾳεῖς ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν.*

Cf. Διδ. iii. 7, 8.

ii. 6. *ἔστω...μὴ αἰσχροκερδής...βλαπτόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ βλάπτων, μὴ πλεονέκτης, μὴ ἅρπαξ,...μὴ ψευδομάρτυς, μὴ θυμώδης,...μὴ δίγνωμος, μὴ δίγλωσσος.*

Cf. Διδ. ii. and iii. 2.

ii. 15. *ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἡσαΐου λέγει πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους Παρακαλεῖτε, παρακαλεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου, ἱερεῖς.*

ii. 25. *ὑμεῖς οὖν σήμερον, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι, ἐστὲ τῷ λαῷ ὑμῶν ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται...ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἐν ὑμῖν λαϊκοῖς ἐστὲ προφῆται.....οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν ὑμῶν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς.*

The preceding passages betray very decidedly the appropriation by the bishop of the prophetic title and office. Cf. Διδ. xiii. 3.

ii. 34. *διὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὀφείλετε...τιμᾶν...ὡς κύριον.*

Cf. Διδ. iv. 1.

ii. 36. *μὴ προσανέχειν εἰδώλοις ἤ τισιν ἑτέροις ὡς θεοῖς ἀψύχοις.*

Cf. Διδ. v. 3.

ii. 37. *σὺ οὖν...κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διδαχὴν ποίησον, καὶ μόνον παραλαβὼν τὸν κατηγορηθέντα ἔλεγξον αὐτὸν.....ἐν πραότητι.*

Cf. Διδ. xv. 3, *ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ.* The Teaching of the Lord here referred to is the Gospel of Matthew.

ii. 47. *τὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν γίνεσθω δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων, ὅπως ἐὰν ἀντιλογία τῇ ἀποφάσει ὑμῶν γένηται ἕως σαββάτου ἔχοντες ἄδειαν δυνηθῆτε εὐθῦναι τὴν ἀντιλογίαν καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν τοὺς διαφερομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

This passage is interesting as furnishing a conclusive demonstration of the accuracy of the emendation in Διδ. xiv. *προεξομολογησάμενοι.* Personal differences &c. are to be dealt with on Monday in order that a clean bill of health may be furnished by the following Sunday. This is evidently a development of the practice alluded to in the Teaching.

iii. 4. *χρὴ γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν παντὰς ἀνθρώπους, μὴ φιλοκρινοῦντας τοῦτον ὅστις ᾖ ἢ ἐκεῖνον· ὁ γὰρ κύριός φησι Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου· δῆλον δὲ ὡς τῷ χρῄζοντι κατ' ἀλήθειαν.*

Cf. Διδ. iv. 7.

iv. 3. *καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐαὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνουσιν ἢ δυναμένοις βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἑτέρων βουλομένοις.....ὁ δὲ ἔχων καὶ ἐν ὑποκρίσει λαμβάνων ἢ δι' ἀργίαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐργαζόμενον βοηθεῖν καὶ ἑτέροις, δίκην ὀφλήσει τῷ θεῷ.*

Cf. Διδ. i. 5.

v. 20. *πᾶσαν τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν προστάσσομεν ὑμῖν νηστεύειν, καὶ τὴν περισσείαν ὑμῶν τῆς νηστείας πένησιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν.*

Cf. Διδ. viii. 1.

vi. 13. *οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι.....ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ ψευδαπόστολοι, πλάνοι καὶ φθορεῖς...δι' οὓς ψυχθήσεται ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγάπη· ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος ἀδιάστροφος, οὗτος σωθήσεται.*

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 3.

The seventh book which incorporates the whole of the Teaching has been already discussed.

Ps.-Ignatius ad Antiochenos. [Saec. iv.?]

That this writer was acquainted with the Teaching may, I think, be seen from the following extract.

c. xi. *περὶ δὲ γοητείας ἢ παιδεραστείας ἢ φόνου περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν, ὁπότε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπηγόρευται πράττειν· ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς* ἀπόστολος *παρακελεύομαι.*

Notice the way in which the reference to crimes forbidden to the heathen suggests the repetition of the Ignatian sentiment "but I am not an Apostle." The evidence for the superscription *Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* is worthy of remark.

From the same writer *ad Trallianos* the previous conclusion may be fortified.

c. vi. *εἰσὶ γάρ τινες,...οὐ χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι,* where it is not merely a case of using the word *χριστέμπορος*, but of using it *as the Teaching does* in opposition to *χριστιανός*.

Athanasius. [Saec. iv.]

Fragments (Migne, *Pat. Gr.* xxvi. 1253 and xxvii. 1381) *περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν.....*

πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀφείλεις δοκιμάζειν τοὺς χριστεμπόρους.

Cf Διδ. c. xi., *ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης.*

c. xii. *χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.*

De Virginitate (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 2).

Col. 265. *καὶ ὅταν καθεσθῇς ἐπὶ τὴν τραπέζην καὶ ἔρχῃ κλᾶσαι τὸν ἄρτον, σφραγίσασα αὐτὸν τρίτον* (l. *τρὶς*) *τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ οὕτως εὐχαριστοῦσα λέγε·* Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ *ἡμῶν,* ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας *ἀναστάσεώς σου·* διὰ γὰρ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν *αὐτήν. καὶ καθὼς ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος* διεσκορπισμένος *ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ἐπάνω ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης καὶ* συναχθεὶς ἐγένετο ἕν, *οὕτως* ἐπισυναχθήτω σου ἡ Ἐκκλησία *ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων*

ΤΗC ΓΗC ΕΙC ΤΗΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑΝ CΟΥ, ΟΤΙ CΟΥ ΕCΤΙΝ Η ΔΥΝΑΜΙC ΚΑΙ Η ΔΟΞΑ ΕΙC ΤΟΥC ΑΙΩΝΑC τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

Col. 268. καὶ μετὰ τὴν δοξολογίαν πάλιν τὴν εὐχὴν πλήρωσον λέγουσα οὕτως· Ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ καὶ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, εὐχαριστοῦμεν καὶ αἰνοῦμέν σε ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμῖν μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγαθῶν τῶν σῶν, τῶν σαρκικῶν τροφῶν. δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε, ἵνα καὶ τὰς ἐπουρανίους τροφὰς ἡμῖν δωρήσῃ. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τρέμειν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ φρικτὸν καὶ ἔντιμον ὄνομά σου καὶ μὴ παρακούειν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου. τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐγκατάθου ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν. ἁγίασον δὲ ἡμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κτέ.

Cf. Διδ. c. ix., x.

Col. 273. τί λέγεις, ἄνθρωπε; ἰδοὺ δύο ὁδοὶ παρετέθησαν ἐνώπιόν σου, ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ θάνατος. ὅπου ἐὰν θέλῃς πορεύου.

Cf. Διδ. i. 1.

Col. 279. πάσῃ ὥρᾳ μὴ λειψάτω ἔλαιον τῇ λαμπάδι σου, μὴ πότε ἔλθῃ ὁ νύμφιος καὶ εὕρῃ αὐτὴν σβεσθεῖσαν.

Cf. Διδ. xvi. 1.

Syntagma Doctrinae. (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii.)

Col. 836. κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἀγαπήσεις ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ διχοστατήσεις· ἀπέχου πνικτοῦ καὶ εἰδωλοθύτου καὶ αἵματος.

Cf. Διδ. i. ii.

Col. 837. φυλάττεσθαί τε μὴ εἶναι δίλογον, μὴ δίγνωμον, μὴ ψεύστην, μὴ κατάλαλον, μὴ ἀκεροπερίσπαστον, μὴ ἀναίσχυντον, μὴ ῥεμβόν, μὴ ἀναίσθητον, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον ἐκ χειλέων προσφέροντα, μήτε ὅρκον ὅλως τὸ παράπαν.

Cf. Διδ. ii.

Col. 837. σάββατα μὴ φυλάττειν, μὴ μαγεύειν, μὴ φαρμακεύειν.....μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπαοιδὸν μήτε φυλακτήριον ἑαυτῷ περιτιθέναι μηδὲ περικαθαίρειν μήτε μὴν ταῦτά σοι ποιεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ ἄλλου σοὶ γένηται. The last clause is an expansion of the idea μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν in the Teaching.

Cf. Διδ. ii. iii.

Col. 837. μὴ παράβαινε νηστείαν, τούτεστι τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν...

Cf. Διδ. viii. 1.

Col. 840. μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος μὴ αἰσχροκερδής...γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 5, 8.

Col. 841. δικαίως συνάγων καρποὺς καὶ μὴ ἔχων τι ἀδικίας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρόσφερε.

Cf. Διδ. xiii. 3.

Col. 841. *πρὸ παντὸς δὲ τέχνην ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐργάζου ἵνα μὴ ἐσθίῃς ἄρτον ἀργόν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου ἔχε πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύειν ἀδελφούς κτέ.*

Cf. Διδ. xii. 3.

Col. 844. *εἰ δέ τις ἀντιλέγει τοῖς προειρημένοις θεῷ ἐστιν ἀντιλέγων.*

Cf. Διδ. vi. 1.

Ps.-Athanasius.

Fides Nicaena[1]. (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1639.)

καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀγαπήσεις αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου· καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· οὐ φονεύσομεν· οὐ μοιχεύσομεν· οὐ παιδοφθορήσομεν· οὐ φαρμακεύσομεν· οὐ κλέψωμεν· οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσωμεν· οὐ διχοστατήσωμεν· ἀπεχώμεθα πνικτοῦ καὶ αἵματος καὶ πλεονεξίας. ὅρα, ἄνθρωπε, μήτις σε ἀπατήσει τῆς πίστεως ταύτης· ἐπεὶ παρεκτός σε θεοῦ διδάσκει.....

φυλάττεσθαι δὲ πάλιν μὴ εἶναι δίγλωσσον ἢ δίγνωμον, μὴ ψεύστην, μὴ κατάλαλον, μὴ ἀκαίρως περιπατοῦντα[2]*, μήτε ῥεμβόμενον, μὴ ἀναίσχυντον, μήτε ὀργίλον, μήτε πάροινον ἢ φιλάργυρον, μὴ ὑπερήφανον, μὴ αὐθάδην, μὴ σαπρὸν λόγον φέροντα, μήτε ὅρκον ὅλως τὸ παράπαν.....*

τὰ σάββατα μὴ φυλάττειν, καθάπερ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· μὴ μαγεύειν· μὴ φαρμακεύειν...μὴ ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὸς ἐπαοιδόν· μήτε φυλακτήρια ἑαυτῷ περιτιθέναι μήτε περικαθαίρειν μήτε ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε ἀπ' ἄλλου τινός.....

μὴ παράβαινε νηστείαν κυρίου τοῦτ' ἔστι τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.....

μὴ γίνου φιλάργυρος, ἢ αἰσχροκερδής.....

γίνου ταπεινὸς καὶ ἡσύχιος, τρέμων διὰ παντὸς τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.....

πρὸ πάντων δὲ τέχνην γίνωσκε· ἢ ἐν ἀγρῷ ἐργάζου· ἵνα μὴ ἀργὸς ἐσθίῃς τὸν ἄρτον.....

πρῶτον τὰς ἀπαρχάς σου τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρόσφερε.....

ἀπεχόμενος ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ πράγματος.....

μὴ προσωπολήπτην, τοῦ ἐλέγξαι ἐν παραπτώμασι μικρούς τε καὶ μεγάλους.

The relations of this to the preceding are sufficiently evident; Prof. Orris was the first to draw attention to the Fides Nicaena in *N. Y. Independent*, April 15, 1886.

[1] P. Batiffol has just published under the title of *Didascalia cccxviii. Patrum*, Paris, *Leroux*, a revised text of this Nicene Faith based upon three Greek MSS. and one Coptic text. He promises to prove that the Didascalia is a Greek version of a Coptic work which is itself taken from the Athanasian *Syntagma ad Monachos*, and that it emanated from lower Italy in the xth century.

[2] This appears in the *Syntagma* as *ἀκεροπερίσπαστον*, but the correctness of the text in the *Fides* is seen by comparing *Ap. Const.* i. 4, *οὐκ ἔσῃ ἐμπεριπατῶν...ἐν ταῖς ῥύμαις, ἀκαιροεπόπτης τῶν κακῶς ζώντων.....μὴ ῥεμβὸς γίνου μηδὲ ἀκαιροπεριπάτητος.* The antiquity of the common matter which shews itself here must be great.

Lactantius. [Saec. iii.—iv.]

Epit. div. institt. c. lix.

"*Duas esse* humanae vitae *vias* nec philosophis ignotum fuit, nec poetis: sed eas utrique diverso modo induxerunt: philosophi alteram industriae, alteram inertiae esse voluerunt: sed hoc minus recte, quod eas ad sola vitae huius commoda retulerunt. Melius poetae qui alteram justorum, alteram impiorum esse dixerunt. Sed in eo peccant quod eas non in hac vita, sed apud inferos esse aiunt. Nos utique rectius qui *alteram vitae, alteram mortis* et hic tamen esse has vias dicimus. Sed illa dexterior qua justi gradiuntur non in Elysium fert sed in coelum. Immortales enim fiunt. Sinistrior ad Tartarum: aeternis enim cruciatibus addicuntur injusti. Tenenda est igitur nobis justitiae via quae ducit ad vitam. *Primum* autem justitiae officium est, *deum* agnoscere ut parentem, eumque metuere ut dominum, *diligere* ut patrem. Idem enim *nos genuit* qui vitali spiritu animavit qui alit qui salvos facit. Habet in nos non modo ut pater verum etiam ut dominus licentiam verberandi et vitae ac necis potestatem, unde illi ab homine duplex honos, id est amor cum timore, debetur. Secundum justitiae officium est, hominem agnoscere velut fratrem. Si enim nos idem deus fecit, et universos ad justitiam vitamque aeternam pari conditione generavit, fraterna utique necessitudine cohaeremus, quam qui non agnoscit injustus est . . . .

c. lx. Sed radix justitiae et omne fundamentum aequitatis est illud ut *ne facias ulli quod pati nolis* sed alterius animum de tuo metiaris."

Div. institt. vi. 3. "Has igitur vias longe aliter inducimus quam a philosophis induci solent. Primum quod utrique praepositum esse dicimus ducem, utrumque immortalem, sed alterum honoratum, qui virtutibus ac bonis praesit, alterum damnatum, qui vitiis ac malis."

These and other references to Lactantius are given by von Gebhardt (v. Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel* ii. 284).

It should be noted that Lactantius' version of the two ways agrees with the Latin Version in emphasizing that the two ways are in this world: he agrees with the Latin Version, Barnabas and Hermas in placing guides over each of the two paths and with the Apostolical Constitutions in making these guides, not angelic powers, but God and the Devil.

Ps.-Cyprian. [?]

De aleatoribus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* iv. 906).

"Et in doctrinis apostolorum: si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec poenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra."

Cf. Διδ. c. xiv., and note that the explanation of the pure sacrifice is the same as that given by Tertullian. The quotation is a very free one, or else it is taken from a different recension of the Teaching to ours.

Dorotheus of Palestine. [c. 590.]

(Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxviii. p. 1840.)

παρακαλῶ σε, τέκνον, ὑπόμεινον καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ συμπτώμασι, κατὰ τὸν λέγοντα· Πάντα τὰ ἐπερχόμενά σοι ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέχου.

(Id. p. 1761.) ὀφείλομεν...μηδέποτε...μικροψυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ δέχεσθαι ἀταράχως τὰ ἐπερχόμενα μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ τῆς μετὰ θεὸν ἐλπίδος· πεπεισμένοι, καθὼς εἶπον, ὅτι πάντα ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἀγαθότητι ποιεῖ. ὀφείλει γὰρ ὁ μοναχὸς...ἑτοιμάσαι κατὰ τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς πειρασμοὺς ἵνα μὴ ξενίζηταί ποτε μηδὲ ταράσσηται ἐν τοῖς συμβαίνουσι· πιστεύων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄνευ τῆς προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται.

These references were given by Prof. Orris, of Princeton, in the *Independent* (N. Y.) for March 10, 1887. Prof. Orris thinks that the reference is to Barnabas on account of the expression "according to him that saith," and the use of ἄνευ for ἄτερ. The following references will shew an acquaintance on the part of Dorotheus with a sentence in the Teaching not quoted directly by Barnabas.

1661. ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ· οἷον, φεῦγε ἁπλῶς πᾶν κακόν, ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος φέροντος ἁμαρτίαν.

Cf. Διδ. iii. 1, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

Clementine Homilies. [?]

We shall shew that the writer of these stories, which contain so much early tradition and are invaluable for the restoration of primitive Church life, was acquainted with the customs and doctrines of the Church as given in the Teaching.

For example, the negative form of the Golden Rule is found in

Hom. vii. 4. οὕτω δ' ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος νοήσειεν τὸ καλόν, ἐν ἑαυτῷ διαλεχθείη τὰ τοιαῦτα· οὐ θέλεις φονευθῆναι, ἕτερόν μὴ φονεύσῃς· οὐ θέλεις τὴν σὴν ὑφ' ἑτέρου μοιχευθῆναι γυναῖκα, τὴν ἑτέρου μὴ μοίχευε γαμετήν κτέ.

Its positive form, with an intimation that it is a part of apostolic teaching, is found in

Hom. xii. 32. ἑνὶ λόγῳ, ὃ θέλει ἑαυτῷ, θέλει καὶ τῷ πλησίον...οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν θεοῦ νόμος καὶ προφητῶν. αὐτὴ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡ διδασκαλία.

The modified counsels of perfection found in c. vi. of the Teaching are to be compared with

Hom. ix. 23. *τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπ᾽ ὀνομασίᾳ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν βαπτισαμένοι τὸ ὅσον δύνασθε ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἁγνείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποδιδόναι.*

The advice to honour the Teacher as God is found in

Hom. iii. 67. *χρὴ οὖν ἑνί τινι ὡς ὁδηγῷ τοὺς πάντας ἕπεσθαι ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ προτιμῶντας.*

The "dead gods" of the Teaching are found in

Hom. xi. 14. *ὅπως...νεκρῶν νεκροτέροις προσενέγκητε.*

Hom. x. 9. *ὦ τῶν ταλαιπώρων ἀνθρώπων φρένες, νεκρῶν νεκρότερα δεδιότων, οὐδὲ γὰρ νεκρὰ αὐτὰ λέγειν δύναμαι, τὰ μηδέποτε ζήσαντα.* Cf. x. 17.

The Homilies furnish excellent illustrations of baptism in running water with triple invocation;

Hom. xi. 26. *ἐὰν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε ὕδατι ζῶντι εἰς ὄνομα πατρός, υἱοῦ, ἁγίου πνεύματος.*

Hom. ix. 19. *ἀενάῳ ποταμῷ ἢ πηγῇ ἐπεί γε κἂν θαλάσσῃ ἀπολουσαμένοι ἐπὶ τῇ τρισμακαρίᾳ ἐπονομασίᾳ.*

The injunction to fast before baptism is in

Hom. xi. 35. *νηστεῦσαί μοι κελεύσας ἡμερῶν, ἀγαγών με εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ πλησίον οὔσας πηγὰς ὡς εἰς ἀέναον ἐβάπτισεν ὕδωρ.*

Hom. iii. 73. *ὅσοι ποτὲ βαπτισθῆναι θέλετε, ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον νηστεύειν ἄρξασθε καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν χειροθετεῖσθε καὶ περὶ ὧν θέλετε πυνθάνεσθε..... μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας βαπτίζειν ἀρξάμενος.*

But perhaps the most complete and perfect illustration of the rules of initiation and the common meal is found in the account of Mattidia's baptism in

Hom. xiii. 9. *ὁ Πέτρος ἔφη· Τί νομίζετε, ἐγὼ μόνος ἄσπλαγχνός εἰμι, ὅτι μὴ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς συνεστιασθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ βάπτισας αὐτὴν σήμερον; ἀλλὰ* κἂν μίαν ἡμέραν πρὸ τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι νηστεῦσαι *αὐτὴν δεῖ.*

Hom. xiii. 11. *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑμῶν ἐπειδὴ πιστῶς διακεῖται περὶ τοῦ βαπτίσματος* κἂν μίαν πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος νηστευσάτω ἡμέραν· *ἡ δὲ ὤμνυεν, δύο τῶν διελθουσῶν ἡμερῶν, τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀναγνωρισμὸν διηγουμένη, ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς χαρᾶς τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθην.*

Cf. the rest of the story, and the account of the baptism in the sea in Hom. xiv. 1.

John Climacus. [Ob. c. 580.]

Bryennios drew attention to a curious passage in this writer which seems to illustrate and confirm the reading of his text of the Teaching in one very obscure place, viz. c. i. *ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.*

John Climacus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 88, col. 1029).

εὐσεβῶν μὲν τὸ αἰτοῦντι διδόναι, εὐσεβεστέρων δὲ καὶ τῷ μὴ αἰτοῦντι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος ΜΗ ΑΠΑΙΤΕΙΝ, ΔΥΝΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ *μάλιστα, τάχα τῶν ἀπαθῶν καὶ μόνων ἴδιον καθέστηκεν.*

A Scribe of the Sinaitic Codex.

We have shewn that the epistle of Barnabas makes great use of the Teaching; hence it becomes of the utmost importance in such places where a quotation from the Teaching is introduced to determine the text of Barnabas with great care from its principal authorities, viz. the Sinaitic Codex, the Jerusalem MS., the Latin Version and the like. Now suppose that in any case the text of Barnabas being duly established we find that either the Sinaitic Codex or a correcting hand has deflected that text into greater agreement with the text of the Teaching. We should conclude that the scribe or corrector had acquaintance with the Teaching, and thus a new authority would be given for the distribution of that document in time and place.

Let us illustrate by an example. In Barnabas iv. 9 the accepted text of Hilgenfeld and Funk is *οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως.*

Here the text follows the Latin Version, the Jerusalem Codex giving *τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν* and the Sinaitic Codex *τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν.* Now if the received reading be correct, the ancestry of the Jerusalem Codex must have dropped the unintelligible words *καὶ τῆς πίστεως*, while the Sinaitic Codex, or one of its ancestors, must have restored the reading to the form in which it stands in the Teaching, and would thus be in evidence for the knowledge of the Teaching. As a matter of fact, however, it seems to me to be more simple to suppose conflation on the part of the Latin Version of Barnabas and error on the part of the ancestry of the Jerusalem Codex. We should thus bring the text of Barnabas into harmony with the Teaching. The passage will, however, serve to illustrate what we mean.

Suppose again in Barnabas xix. we have *οὐ φοβηθῶσι* with the Jerusalem Codex against the vulgate reading *οὐ φοβηθήσῃ* and the Sinaitic *οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται*, we must admit that the scribe of the Sinaitic or one of his literary ancestors has restored the reading of the Teaching to the text of Barnabas, or else he has given us the true reading of the text of Barnabas, which was primitively in harmony with the Teaching. Now this dilemma is not easy to resolve; nor is the conclusion as to the knowledge possessed by the scribe capable of being used for critical purposes, except only in such case as the hand of a corrector of known date or place has gone over the text of the Sinaitic and conformed it to the readings found in the Teaching. In this case we might with some show of

reason affirm the probability that the corrector was acquainted with the Teaching, provided the texts of Barnabas shew no such variant as he introduces.

For instance Hilgenfeld reads in Barnabas xix.

καὶ ἐκζητήσεις καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἢ διὰ λόγου κτέ.

following the combined verdict of the Jerusalem Codex and the Sinaitic against the Greek vulgate. A corrector of the Sinaitic Codex, however, adds τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων either from the Greek vulgate or from the Teaching. Which? Did he complete the sentence from some current text of Barnabas or from his knowledge of the Teaching? If the former, it gives very early authority indeed to the vulgate texts of Barnabas; if the latter, the Teaching was known in the seventh century to the owners of the Sinaitic Codex. In some cases it is almost certainly the former, as when he restores αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ φωτός. Perhaps then we might satisfy the conditions of the question by this latter hypothesis.

But what shall we say when the first hand of the Codex Sinaiticus reads for πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς φθαρτοῖς of all other authorities the θνητοῖς of the Teaching (c. iv. 8)? Since it seems impossible to assume this to be the correct text of Barnabas, for the corrector of the Codex deserts it, the reading must be a memory of the Teaching. We must say then that the scribe of the Sinaitic Codex or one of his literary ancestors was acquainted with the text of the Teaching.

Severinus. [? Archbishop of Cologne, saec. v.]

From Pez: *Thesaurus anecdotorum*, Tom. IV. pars ii. p. 1. (Pez gives his authority as "ex MS. Cod. Inclyti Monasterii Hilariensis Ord. Cist. in Austria.")

Doctrina Severini Episcopi De Sapientia.

Cap. I.

Parallel passages of the Teaching.

De amore Dei et Sapientia, charitate in proximum, taciturnitate, mansuetudine, ac justitia.

i. 2 1. *Dilige Deum:* Sapientiam disce.

2. *Quod* odis, et *tibi fieri non vis, aliis non facias.*

3. Spere semper in Domino: tempus futurum exspecta.

iii. 9 4. Sapientes homines cole: insipientes fuge.

5. Quod bonum est, discere non erubescas.

ii. 5 6. Linguae tuae impera.

iii. 5 7. Pecuniae amator non fueris.

8. Bona est taciturnitas: mala est verbositas. iii. 8
9. Nullum contemnas. ii. 7
10. Majorem natu verere: adolescentiorem, si sapiens fuerit, ut senem ? iv. 1
honora; et *quae animae prosunt,* discere labora. xvi. 2
11. Quod daturus es, ex animo da, quia futura ignoras. iv. 7
12. Nemini opprobrium dixeris. iii. 6
13. Aequo animo esto. iii. 7
14. *Iram fuge; mater est peccati.* iii. 2
15. *Justitiam operare* in judicio: servos dilige. iv. 3
iv. 10

Cap. II.

De modestia, studio tranquillitatis et pacis, de prudentia, orationis puritate, observantia legum, et confessione peccatorum.

1. De nullo male loquaris: memineris hominem te esse.
2. De rebus multis noli anxius esse: sapiens homo non cito turbatur.
3. Cum nullo litiges.
4. Linguam bonae famae habe.
5. Sectare silentium ne te multum poenitentia sequatur.
6. Tuis mansuetus esto, et extraneis necessarius. iv. 10
7. *Brutis* sapientiam *ne dederis:* nam postea persequentur te. ix. 5
8. Sacramenta Dei nisi dignis non aperias. ix. 5
9. Noli esse amarus his, qui in tristitia sunt.
10. Lege hominum ut homo utere: et lege Dei ut Dei.
11. Noli invidere bono: non enim immortalis es.
12. *Cum conscientia mala noli accedere ad orationem:* condemnaberis enim iv. 14
per tuam conscientiam.
13. *Confessio peccati* initium salutis. iv. 14

Cap. III.

De fuga detractionis, clementia, occlusione feminarum a testimonio, de homicidio et adulterio, charitate in servos, &c.

1. Neminem male loqui permittas, ne ut fautor injustitiae habearis.
2. Absentem noli condemnare: praesentem juste accipe.
3. Ex argumentis noli condemnare, ne et tu condemneris: quia displicent Deo talia et quomodo nos viderit agentes, sic judicat.
4. Mulierem in testimonium noli recipere.
5. Omne peccatum indulge praeter homicidium aut adulterium.
6. Injuriam facienti noli consentire, ne sicut injustitiae adjutor puniaris.
7. Servos ut filios enutri. iv. 10
8. Apud Deum omnes aequales sumus, quia personas non accipit. iv. 10

Cap. IV.

Fugienda superbia, bonorum societas quaerenda, orationis qui locus et modus, etc.

iii. 9 1. Superbis noli conjungi.

iv. 2 2. *Facies sanctorum semper inquire, ut* instruaris *verbis eorum.*

3. Misero noli exprobrare, ne et tu exprobrabilis efficiaris: circa omnes enim justum judicium Dei est.

iv. 1 4. Adorans Deum secrete adora, et noli notabilem locum eligere: ubique enim est Deus et ubicunque invocatus fuerit, adest.

5. Et orans noli multum loqui, ne stulto similis habearis. Nam quae cogitas, ante quam petas, Deus non ignorat.

FINIS.

We have given this little tract on Discipline in full in order that the process of its manufacture may be carefully studied. It is evidently based upon the Teaching, and indeed it is almost amusing to see how the bones shew through the skin. For example, in c. ii. 7 the expression "brutis sapientiam ne dederis" at once recalls the passage "Give not that which is holy to the dogs," a reference which appears also from the words "postea persequentur te." But that the words are taken from the Teaching and not from the Gospel, and have a further reference to the Eucharist, appears from the fact that a second precept is hung on the same thread, with direct reference to the "Sacramenta Dei."

In a similar manner the writer having in c. ii. 12 maintained the necessity of prayer being uttered from a pure conscience (in the very words of the Teaching) returns to the clause of the Teaching which he had omitted, viz. that on Confession, and makes a special precept on the subject. Notice also the way in which he has altered the sentence in c. iv. 1 of the Teaching. The date of the writer is the beginning of the fifth century, if we are to accept the identification of Pez who makes him bishop of Cologne: if however the writer is St Severinus who lived upon the banks of the Danube, and whose life was written by his disciple Eugippius, then we must place him in the latter part of the fifth century[1]. He was certainly acquainted with the Teaching, and probably in its complete form, since he betrays his knowledge of the last chapter by a single clause and was also acquainted with the ninth chapter. He does not shew any trace of the supposed interpolation (c. i. 3—ii. 1).

[1] Cf. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, i. 202, 226.

S. Boniface. [Archbishop of Mainz, saec. viii.]

It will be remembered that in our notes on the Latin fragment, attention was drawn to a sermon of Boniface on the subject of Baptismal Renunciation which Pez transcribes from a codex in the cloister-library at Mölk. No one, as far as I know, seems to have noted that this sermon is based directly upon the Teaching. In fact the book of extracts which contains the sermon has arranged the matters with which it deals in an orderly manner, so that those subjects which are similar come together, and in the neighbourhood of the fragment of the Teaching stands the patristic matter which is most closely connected therewith. It is much to be wished that some one would examine the Pez Codex more carefully and report upon what he finds. All we can do here is to point out the underlying sentences of the Teaching in the fabric of the Sermon. Accordingly we print the Sermon at length with the references to the Teaching noted on the margin or by italics.

Ammonitio sive predicatio sancti Bonifacii Episcopi de Abrenuntiatione in Baptismate.

Audite fratres et adtentius cogitetis quid in Baptismo renuntiastis. Abrenuntiastis enim diabolo et omnibus operibus ejus et omnibus pompis ejus. Quid sunt ergo opera diaboli? Haec sunt, superbia, idolatria[1], invidia, homicidium, detractio, mendacium, perjurium, odium, fornicatio, adulterium, omnis pollutio, furta, falsum testimonium, rapina, avaritia, gula, ebrietas, turpiloquia, contentiones, ira, beneficia, incantationes, et sortilegos exquirere, strigas et fictos lupos[2] credere, abortum (cod. avorsum) facere, dominis inobedientes esse, filacteria habere. *Haec et his similia mala opera* sunt diaboli, et his omnibus in Baptismo renuntiastis, et sicut Apostolus dicit; qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte et regnum Dei non consequentur.

Parallel passages of the Teaching.
c. i. iii. v. passim.
iii. 1

Sed quia credimus per Dei misericordiam, ut his omnibus superius dictis corde et opere renuntietis, ut veniam consequi mereamini: ammoneo vos, Fratres karissimi, ut reminiscamini quod omnipotenti Deo promisistis.

Primitus enim promisistis credere in Deum patrem omnipotentem et in Jesum Christum filium ejus, et in Spiritum Sanctum, unum omnipotentem Deum in Trinitate perfecta.

Haec sunt mandata Dei quae facere et conservare debetis, *ut Deum* quem confessi estis *diligatis* ex toto corde et ex tota mente, et ex tota virtute. *Deinde proximos vestros tanquam vosmetipsos.* In his omnibus mandatis tota lex pendet et Prophetae.

i. 2

[1] l. idololatria.

[2] i.e. werewolves.

iii. 8 *Estote patientes, estote misericordes,* benigni, casti, impolluti. Filios docete
iv. 9 ut Deum timeant: familiam similiter. Discordes pacate. Qui causas audit,
iv. 3 juste judicet, munera non accipiat, quia munera obcoecant etiam sapientes.
iv. 3 *Diem Dominicam* observate: ad Ecclesiam *convenite,* ibi orantes et non
xiv. 1 verbositantes. Elimosinas date juxta vires: quia sicut aqua extinguit ignem,
iv. 6 ita elimosina extinguit peccatum. Hospitales invicem peregrinos suscipete,
xii. 1 infirmos visitate, viduis et pupillis ministrate, *decimas reddite* ecclesiis, et
xiii. 3 *quod tibi non vis, alio ne facias.* Deum solum ubique timete. *Servi subditi*
i. 2 *estote dominis* et domini justitiam conservate servis. Orationem Dominicam
iv. 11 et Symbolum tenete et filiis vestris tradite et filiolis vestris, quos in baptismo
viii. 2 fide jussores extitistis. Jejunium amate, justitiam diligete, diabolo resistite,
viii. 1 Eucharistiam per tempora sumite. Haec sunt opera, quae Deus jussit facere
ix. i et conservare et his similia. Venturum Christum credite et carnis resurrec-
xvi. 1 tionem et judicium omnium hominum. Ibi discernuntur impii in ignem
aeternum: justi autem in vitam aeternam. Ibi est vita cum Deo sine morte,
lux sine tenebris, salus sine aegritudine, satietas sine fame, felicitas sine timore,
gaudium sine tristitia, ibi aeterna gloria, ibi fulgebunt justi sicut Sol, quam
(sic!) oculus (cod. oculos) non vidit, nec aures (sic!) audivit nec in cor hominis
ascendit, quantum praeparavit Deus diligentibus se. Hoc etiam moneo vos,
Fratres karissimi, quia natalis Domini imminit (sic cod.), ut abstineatis vos ab
iii. 1 omnia luxuria, et ab omni fornicatione, et ab omni immunditia, et ab omnibus
iii. 2 operibus malis. Iracundiam et odium et invidiam velut venenum de vestris
cordibus respuite. Castitatem etiam cum propriis uxoribus conservate. Ornate
vos bonis operibus. Elimosinas pauperibus Christi erogate, ad convivia lautiora
iv. 3 pauperes frequentius revocate. Pacem cum omnibus custodite, discordes pacate.

Hoc si fideliter Christo adjuvante volueritis adimplere, et in hoc seculo ad altare Domini securiter potestis accedere, et in futuro ad aeternam beatitudinem feliciter pervenite.

The foregoing sermon shews the use of the Teaching from beginning to end, and in some cases uses the very language of it. Nearly all the subjects treated of in the Teaching are represented, Prayers, Fasts, Eucharists, Church hospitalities and Church dues, the Sunday meeting and the second advent. Hence we are entitled to say that if Boniface was the apostle of Germany, the Teaching must have been his text-book. And the complete book (without prejudice to the question of interpolation) was therefore known on the banks of the Rhine in the beginning of the eighth century.

NOTICES OF THE TEACHING BY WRITERS ON THE CANON OF THE N.T.

Eusebius. († 340 A.D.)

Hist. Eccl. iii. 25.

ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ ὅ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολὴ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί.

Athanasius. [367 A.D.]

Festal Letters.

ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον, Σοφία Σολομῶντος καὶ Σοφία Σιρὰχ καὶ Ἐσθὴρ καὶ Ἰουδὶθ καὶ Τωβίας καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν.

Rufinus. [c. 410 A.D.]

Comm. in Symb. Apost. § 38.

In novo vero Testamento libellus qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermas, qui appellatur Duae Viae vel Judicium Petri. Quae omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

Nicephorus Constantinopolitanus. (Patr. Const. 806—814.)

καὶ ὅσα τῆς νέας ἀπόκρυφα.

.....

εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν· στίχοι ,ατ΄.
διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων· στίχοι σ΄.

From a Catalogue of Canonical and other books in the Bodleian Library (Cod. Barocc. 206).

καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα.

.....

ιζ΄. περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.
ιη΄. Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή.

OBSCURE PASSAGES IN THE TEACHING.

The Teaching needs little emending

Probably there never was a document which so successfully vindicated its right not to be conjecturally emended as the Teaching. Indeed we may say that with the exception of one or two merely clerical errors, the text justifies itself almost at every point. For example no one now wishes to correct the expression *ὁρίζων τράπεζαν* (אֹרֵךְ שֻׁלְחָן) nor the at first sight difficult *ἐκπέτασις ἐν οὐρανῷ*. There may perhaps be still some slight disagreement as to the meaning of the terms employed; none, I think, as to the correctness of the words.

but it has a few very obscure passages.

In fact, as previously stated, the opinion of Harnack is that there are only three passages in the Teaching that can be said to still resist explanation. And so much light has been thrown upon these by the Talmudic skill of Dr Taylor in his admirable lectures on the Teaching, that two out of the three places referred to need very little further to be said upon them. Whatever we may have to say will readily be recognized to have its foundation in the lectures referred to.

We shall begin with the obscurity that stands almost at the end of the tract which runs in the MS. as follows:

"Saved by the curse,"

οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος,

and which should be translated "but they that endure in their faith shall be saved by the very curse": the only alternatives being to take *ὑπὸ* in the sense of motion from under the curse, "they shall be saved from under the curse itself," or to interpret *αὐτοῦ* in a personal sense and render it "shall be saved by Him the curse." Nothing is gained by substituting *ἀπὸ* for *ὑπὸ* nor by such emendations as the one proposed by Bryennios *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κάτω θέματος*, that is to say "upon the earth."

We proceed to explain the passage; and we have selected this one to begin with because when rightly understood it throws light upon the other obscurities of the Teaching.

which is an early canon of interpretation

Let us then remark that the most popular canon of soteriology in early times is if I may coin an expression that of Salvation by Similars. It is not merely that the antidote grows near the poison, it grows on the same stem with the poison; that which damns turns into that which saves. Thus there is hardly a curse pronounced in the Scripture that is not interpreted in a remedial manner by early exegetes; whether the Christians borrowed the idea from Rabbinism or not, the conceit is none the less wide-spread over

their earlier literature, and we shall shew that it has affected the New Testament itself.

Nowhere is this more strikingly seen than in expositions of the first chapters of Genesis; partly because all Christians were formerly educated in the interpretation of these chapters, so that there grew up both amongst Jews and Christians a mystical Gnosis of the Pentateuch, and partly because in the present case curses congregate in that part of the Scripture. Let us examine some of these: there is a curse upon the serpent who deceives by means of the tree of knowledge, there is a curse upon childbirth, there is a curse upon the ground. Let us take these in order and see how they would be explained by primitive divinity. We begin with the cursed serpent.

perhaps based on the first chapters of Genesis

Now in order to turn the serpent to some good end we may proceed, if we please, by Gematria or the numerical calculation of the letters of the word for serpent (נחשׁ), and then by a common device substituting for נ the two letters which are numerically equivalent to it, מ and ׳, we form the name of Messiah (משׁיח). In this way man is saved by the Curse itself: and either this or a similar gnosis is implied in the words of our Lord to Nicodemus, "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up[1]": words which would thus be an indirect statement of his Messiahship. The illustration which He used is a favourite instance of the law of salvation by the Curse, and was frequently on the lips of early exegetes and must, I suspect, have been a commonplace of primitive preachers. So important was the mystery involved in this act of Moses that he was held to be justified on account of it for having broken his own law against the making of images, and there is no doubt that the early Christians employed the illustration freely in arguing with the Jews, since we find the argument as late as Anastasius of Sinai[2], as follows:—*ὥσπερ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπιστεύσατε τῷ ὄφει τῷ χαλκῷ κρεμαμένῳ ἐπὶ ξύλου, ἐπικατηραμένου ὄντος ἀπὸ παντὸς θηρίου οὕτινος ἡ εἰκὼν ζωὴν παρεῖχε τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν· ὡς γὰρ ὁ ὄφις ὁ μὴ δάκνων ὑπὲρ τῶν δακνόντων ὄφεων ζωὴν ἔφερεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἀναμάρτητος ὢν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν κρεμασθείς, ζωὴν τῷ κόσμῳ ἐχαρίσατο.* According to Anastasius, then, the cure for a serpent is a serpent, the one that does not bite becomes the remedy for the one that does, and thus we are saved by the curse itself[3].

and has given rise both to Gematria

and to much subtle exegesis.

Similar reasoning is found in a curious homily *On the Serpent*[4], attributed to Severianus of Gabala. Its interest lies in the persistence which it shews of *traditional* Jewish objections to the doctrine of the Cross, while we may be

[1] John iii. 14.

[2] *Disp. adv. Jud.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lxxxix. 1245, and cf. 1276).

[3] Is there a similar reason for the explanation of the Targum that God clothed Adam and Eve in the cast-off skin of a serpent?

[4] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* lvi. col. 501.

sure that the answers given by Severianus contain the ordinary Christian presentation of those explanations which were in vogue amongst the teachers of times much anterior to his own. Severianus argues as follows:—"It is written, Cursed is he that hangeth on a tree. If then it is thus written, and attested (by St Paul), how is the *blessing given from the thing cursed* to the followers of the Cross? Such objections are ever made and put forward by the Jew, that enemy of the cross of Christ. Suppose then that he should say to you, How doth the cursed one give blessing? say to him, How was it in the wilderness when the serpents bit thy ancestors and Moses made a serpent of brass and set it on a cross and said, Let every one that hath been bitten by a serpent give heed to the serpent and he shall be saved? And what, he will say, has that to do with the matter in hand? But in good sooth it has much to do with it. Hast thou never heard God saying, Cursed art thou above all beasts of the earth? How then did the image of the cursed bring life to thy ancestors? I repeat my words that I may confirm their meaning. If it is considered out of the question with you to attach a blessing to the cursed (for cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree), how did the image of the cursed serpent, that heard the words, Cursed art thou, &c., bring salvation to the people lying in distress? Would it not have been more credible to say, 'If any one of you has been bitten let him look to the Heaven above, to God, and he shall be saved'? But leaving out the question of looking to Heaven, could he not have said, If any one has been bitten, let him look to the candlestick and he shall be saved; or to the table of the shewbread or to the altar or the vail, or to the ark or to the image of the cherubim or to the mercy-seat? But the great Lawgiver introduced none of these: he only erected the figure of the Cross, and that too by means of the cursed serpent. Wherefore then, Jew, doth Moses thus? wherefore doth he make a molten serpent, he that saith, Thou shalt not make a carven or molten image? But why do I utter such questions to one void of knowledge? I will ask the lawgiver himself, Tell me, most faithful of the servants of God, wherefore doest thou what thou forbiddest? why framest thou what thou dost reject? Thou that sayest, Make no carven nor molten image, dost thou make a molten serpent? But, saith he, these laws I ordained to cut off the material of impiety and to lead this people out of idolatry. But I do now mould the serpent that *I may typify beforehand* the image of the dispensation of the Cross." He then goes on to shew, as Anastasius does, that the serpent which does not bite is the cure for those that do.

The same idea lies hidden in the following sentence of Irenaeus (IV. iv. 2): "non enim lex prohibebat eos credere in Filium Dei, sed et adhortabatur, dicens non aliter salvari homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatur

a terra." The reason why Christ is made in the likeness of sinful flesh, is in order that he may appear to be the curse itself, just as the innocent brass appeared to be a serpent[1].

In all of the preceding extracts another point is brought out, namely, that the original curse which came by the serpent upon man was wrought by means of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This is involved in the reference to the cross as "a tree." Hence it might be said in a certain sense that a curse resided in the tree. Certainly the early fathers thought so, since they never tire of reiterating that if man was lost by the tree, he is also saved by the tree, namely the cross, which either stands as representing the destructive tree of knowledge, or else mystically stands for the tree of life which is planted hard by. Hence by a tree we lose, and by a tree we gain, and thus we are saved by the very curse. This cannot be put more positively than in Irenaeus (v. xvii. 4) (though I suppose it to be involved in 1 Pet. ii. 24 "in his own body on the tree"), where we find

ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτὸν διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ ὕψος καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

It is also very clearly stated in an extract ascribed to Eusebius[2] in the Parallels of John of Damascus.

Dam. Par. 697. *ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦ ξύλου ἐθανάτωσε τὸν πρωτόπλαστον ὁ Σατανᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος ἐνανθρωπήσας διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ τὸν διάβολον καταπάτημα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πεποίηκεν· ὅσοι γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον καταπατοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν*[3].

Another form of the curse consists in the pangs of childbirth, and here too we shall find that the same method of exegesis prevails. The woman must find her salvation by that which is her curse, that is to say by the child-bearing: for her seed bruises the head of the serpent; her pains are the birth-pangs of the Messiah. Hence in 1 Tim. ii. 15 after a direct reference to Eve it is said that she (Woman) shall be saved through the childbearing. The gains are to be found in the pains. She, i.e. Woman representatively, has sorrow for a season, but after that she has joy because *the* Man (so read with ℵ*) has been born into the world. Chrysostom, or some one who passes under his name, brings out this expectation of Salvation on the part of the Woman, in a homily on the Decapitation of John the Baptist, of which the following extract is quoted in the Parallels of John of Damascus. John xvi. 20.

Dam. Par. 415. *ἀλλὰ μηδεὶς παρακαλῶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λοιδορείτω τὴν Εὔαν· ἡ γὰρ ἁγία θεοτόκος παρθένος τὴν ὕβριν αὐτῆς ἀπεγράψατο. εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀτακτήσασα συνόμιλος τῷ ὄφει γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας τὸ ἄλγος τῆς ἀνομίας ἀπέθετο, καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐμνημόνευσε λέγων· ἡ γυνὴ*

[1] Cf. Cyril Alex. (Migne *Patr. Gr.* lxix. 640) *τεθεάμεθα γὰρ τὸν ὄφιν, τούτεστι Χριστόν..... Ὀφις δὴ οὖν ὁ Χριστός.*

[2] Query, of Alexandria.

[3] So in *Quest. ad Antiochum* (*Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 694), *καὶ καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ξύλου ἡ ἁμαρτία, οὕτω διὰ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ σταυροῦ ἡ σωτηρία.*

ἀπατηθεῖσα ἐν παραβάσει γέγονεν, σωθήσεται δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας. ποίας; ἐκ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ οἱ γεννηθέντες παῖδες, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνους, εἶτα οἱ πατριάρχαι, οἱ προφῆται, Δαβίδ, καὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστός.

Here the Salvation of Woman by the Curse is not restricted to the Messiah, but is reckoned as a continuous process through the birth of holy men, culminating in the Messiah. Other writers have given a further interpretation, regarding woman not only as cursed, but as the curse. And indeed this is involved in the preceding quotation.

Taking the matter a step further let us ask in what way the Curse of the Fall comes more especially upon Man. The answer is that the ground is cursed for his sake and he labours in the sweat of his brow; hence in some way or other his salvation has to come from the ground and from his labours. I believe this is the origin, one origin at least, of the exaggerated importance which the Jews attached to almsgiving. Whatever view prevailed at first with regard to the grace of almsgiving and its power of delivering some other person from death, it is certain that in very early times the person redeemed from death was the giver of alms. Alms cancelled the decrees of heaven just as much as did reformation of conduct or prayer[1]. Hence the Teaching directs that by means of our hands we should give a ransom for our sins. The meaning is that the products of the soil which has been cursed constitute, as alms, the form in which the Curse becomes Salvation. To the man they are the pains which God gives him for his salvation, just as to the woman her sorrows involve her benediction. His alms are the sweat of his brow, and by them he must be saved, at least if the rule of Salvation by the Curse is always to be maintained.

Tobit iv. 10.

Nor must it be forgotten that the curse culminates in the fact that man must die; and we will only draw attention to those passages which affirm that "as by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead"; "that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, the devil[2]." Both of these are aspects of the same rule, Salvation by the Curse. Nor is it to be omitted that "God sent forth his Son, made of a woman," since by woman sin entered in. Irenaeus expressly affirms that the devil would not have been fairly conquered except by a man born of a woman. For, says he (v. xxi. 1), "neque autem juste victus fuisset inimicus, nisi ex muliere homo esset qui vicit eum. Per mulierem enim homini dominatus est." And Justin even says that as the curse came by a Virgin, so by a Virgin the salvation, *καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ· παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὔα κτέ.* A better illustration of Salvation by Similars could hardly be wished for.

[1] *Rosh Hashana*, f. 16 b.

[2] Cf. Methodius, *De Cruce* (Migne xviii. 401), *πάθος παθῶν διὰ τοῦ παθεῖν γενόμενος, καὶ θάνατος διὰ τοῦ θανεῖν θανάτου.*

Sometimes the argument that salvation must come by woman is pushed to a fanciful extreme. The women who announce the resurrection become representatives in the matter of salvation who answer to Eve in her sin. They are the heralds of salvation, she the author of sin. She leads the first Adam to his fall; they bear witness to the second Adam in his rising. This is very clearly stated in Ps.-Athan. *in Sanctum Pascha* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1084):

καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀποστόλοις εὐηγγελίζοντο τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως· οὕτω γὰρ τῆς Εὔας ἡ ἐπήρεια τῷ διαβόλῳ περιετρέπετο. ὅθεν γὰρ ὤδευσεν ἡ νόσος, ἐκεῖθεν ἡ θεράπεια ἔρχεται· ὅθεν ὁ θάνατος ἤρξατο, ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ἀνάστασις φαίνεται· γυνὴ γὰρ τῆς παραβάσεως αἰτία καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως κήρυξ· ἡ τὸν πρῶτον Ἀδὰμ πρὸς τὴν πτῶσιν χειραγωγήσασα, τὸν δεύτερον Ἀδὰμ ἀνάσταντα μαρτύρεται.

It will be seen that our author distinctly regards the women at the sepulchre as a particular instance of the general law that the remedy must proceed from the disease, i.e. as the Teaching puts it, salvation is by the curse. Another variation is to regard woman as sprung from the side of man, in which case the side furnishes the curse: it must accordingly furnish the redemption. The writer just quoted makes the pierced hands of the second Adam redemptive for the hands of the first Adam stretched out to take the fruit, and his pierced side the remedy for the death which was brought in by Eve:

Col. 1085. *ἴδω χεῖρας ὀρυχθείσας, δι' ὧν αἱ παραβᾶσαι τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐθεραπεύθησαν χεῖρες. ἴδω πλευράν, δι' ἧς ὁ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς ἀνήρηται θάνατος.*

A similar statement will be found in *Quest. ad Antiochum* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 696):

λόγχῃ τὴν πλευρὰν νύττεται, ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ κτισθεῖσαν θεραπεύσῃ καὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν στρεφομένην παύσῃ.

Here the spear in the Redeemer's side is the antidote for the flaming sword, and the side-wound of the second Adam the cure for the evil that sprung from the side-wound of the first.

Similar arguments will be found in a tract on the Passion of the Lord bound up with the works of Athanasius. The writer not only lays down the general principle that man is set free by those things which were his condemnation, but takes a special instance in the thief upon the cross. The first Adam stretched his hands to sin and lost his paradise by the act. The penitent thief expands his arms to a cross and regains paradise.

Ps.-Athan. *in Passionem Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 1055):

ξύλον καταδίκης ὄργανον τοῖς καταδίκοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκαρποφόρησεν..... ὁ πλάστης ξύλον ἀντιφάρμακον ξύλου τῇ φύσει χαρίζεται καὶ πάθος οἰκονομίας εἰσήνεγκε πάθους ἀλεξιφάρμακον καὶ θανάτῳ κρατοῦντι θανάτου

ἀνθοπλίσας κατηγωνίσατο. καὶ πάλιν ἐλεύθερος ὁ ἄνθρωπος, οἷς ἐδέθη πρὸς θάνατον, τούτοις τὴν ἀθανασίαν εὑράμενος, δι' ὧν γὰρ κατεκρίνετο, διὰ τούτων ἐλύετο.....οἷς ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ κατεκρίθη, τούτοις ὁ δεύτερος Ἀδὰμ ἠλευθερώθη· ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατέπεσεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνυψώθη.

Col. 1060. *ὦ λῃστὰ τοῦ προγόνου περὶ τὸν παράδεισον ἀσφαλέστερε! ἐκεῖνος ἀκαίρως ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον θάνατον εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν εἰσήγαγε· σὺ δὲ εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἁπλώσας τὸν ἀπολόμενον ἀνεκτήσω παράδεισον.*

If we proceed a little farther with the book of Genesis we find the same method of interpretation to prevail in primitive times.

Let us then notice how when the earth was cursed with a flood, the elect found their redemption. In this case Water is the curse, and therefore we find in 1 Pet. (iii. 20) that in those days "few, that is eight souls, were saved by water," i.e. they were saved by the curse.

The explanation was sometimes carried beyond the simple statement of the apostle by explaining how the waters buoyed up the ark from below instead of submerging it from above, and at the same time, the idea of salvation from the curse by the curse being prominent to the mind of the exegete, the wood of the ship is made to do duty and redeem them from the curse derived from the tree, and thus the ship is now the cross (Wood = Tree = Cross = *τὸ ξύλον*). Thus Justin says (*Dial.* 111) *ὁ Νῶε ἐν ξύλῳ διεσώθη ἐποχούμενος τοῖς ὕδασι.*

We have already alluded to the illustration which the Brazen Serpent furnishes of the matter; perhaps it should also be admitted that in a certain sense and in some circles Christ himself came to be called the Curse. The passage in the Teaching cannot however be restricted to a merely personal reference; and although it might be owned that Paul went rather out of his way to demonstrate to the Galatians that Christ was the Curse, yet when he found the Corinthians carrying the doctrine *ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς* into too positive statement, he denied that those who used the term spoke by the Spirit. Justin also tried to put a check on those who carried the personal reference beyond what was appropriate. For he says in his Dialogue with Trypho that our Christ "was not cursed by the law; but he was only demonstrating that he would save those who did not depart from their faith":

Dial. 111. *ὁ οὖν παθητὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σταυρωθεὶς Χριστὸς οὐ* κατηράθη *ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ μόνος* σώσειν τοὺς μὴ ἀφισταμένους τῆς πίστεως *αὐτοῦ ἐδήλου.*

The coincidence of this language with that of the Teaching is very remarkable. The Teaching affirms that those who abide in their faith shall be saved by the curse itself. If no other evidence were forthcoming from Justin, I think it would be sufficient to shew his use of the Teaching. Justin is evidently repelling the opinion that Jesus is the one Cursed by the Law,

but he does not deny the personal reference to Christ in the question; and this would seem to shew that it was a popular interpretation of the sentence in the Teaching.

It is, however, certain to my mind that the passage has a much wider sense than that which Justin and his friends attached to it[1].

Alms and Sweat.

"Let your alms sweat in your hands."

The next passage to be examined is Διδ. i. 6 which stands in the MS. ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς. It is by far the most difficult in the whole tract. Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to emend it, as ἱδρωσάτω (Bryennios) which is only a change of verb-form: ἱδρυσάτω (Hilgenfeld); μὴ δραχθήτω (Harnack), &c. Of one thing we may, I think, assure ourselves, that the text cannot be very far wrong as it stands. For every idea in it can be closely paralleled from writers acquainted with the Teaching. We have already drawn attention, under our remarks upon the Curse, to the prominence which is given to alms as the redemptive side of the curse of labour. Sweat turned to alms is a curse turned into a blessing; it is labour issuing in charity and charity issuing in salvation.

Alms are the redemptive side of labour.

Now we find Barnabas using this term sweat to describe the toil of man (c. x. 4): for he says in giving the explanation why it is forbidden under the law to eat the eagle, the osprey, and the raven, that we are not to associate with nor assimilate ourselves to such men as do not know how to provide themselves food by their own labour and sweat. Here then sweat is the synonym of toil, and we are reminded of the words "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread." (Gen. iii. 19.)

The same thought appears in connexion with almsgiving in the Patristic tract *Questiones ad Antiochum* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 651), καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ γεωπόνου ἐξ ἰλίου ἱδρῶτος ποιοῦντος συμπάθειαν καὶ ἕτερος ὁ τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοῦ ἀπὸ δώρων καὶ προσόδων παρέχοντος. Here ἱδρώς is the toil of the field labourer, which carries us again back to Genesis and to the Teaching. He does alms out of his sweat.

Turn now to the Sibylline Oracles and note the same conjunction of ideas in Orac. Sib. ii. 79,

ἱδρῶσι σταχύων χειρὶ χρήζοντι παράσχου.

When I first noted this passage, it seemed so unintelligible that I ventured to emend the text, as the word σταχύων was apparently out of

[1] The illustrations from Barnabas as to the two goats on the Day of Atonement which are one cursed and the other crowned, a passage which Justin also refers to the two advents of Christ, should be noted. See Taylor, *Lectures on the Teaching*, pp. 105, 106.

A sheaf of corn is a sacred symbol.

harmony with the rest of the sentence. But I see now that it must be right; for a reference to early Christian art will shew that a sheaf of corn is the symbol of toil commended by God to man, and by man returned to God by the way of almsgiving. For example Brownlow and Northcote in describing the figures on early Christian sarcophagi draw attention to this point:

Early Christian Art, p. 244. "He (sc. Jesus) *gives to Adam a sheaf*, for in the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat bread."

P. 250. "The promised Saviour, beardless, as in all representations of the incarnation, holds the *sheaf* in his hand but extends it towards the seated figure, as though to imply *that the bread obtained by the sweat of Adam's brow is to be offered to God.*" It is clear then that the Sibylline text is correct, or very nearly so (we may if we please put the singular *ἱδρῶτι*, or with Dr Taylor read *ἱδρῶ σῇ*, but the sense is not altered). We are to give to the needy of the sweat of our sheaves.

But if this be so what better illustration could we have of the connexion between alms and sweat and the reference to Genesis? We may be sure then that in the Teaching *ἱδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη* cannot be far wrong. The next part of the sentence consists of the words *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*. I take this to be merely an equivalent of *ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου*, the uses of *εἰς* and *ἐν* being scarcely to be discriminated in N. T. Greek. But why should the alms sweat in the hands rather than on the face, as in Genesis? We have here unless I am mistaken a Synagogue interpretation. Certainly the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel gives the passage in Genesis "in the labour of *the palm of thy hands* thou shalt eat bread." Something similar has been noted by Dr Taylor in the Coptic version of the Apostolical Canons, where the catechumen is instructed to honour the teacher "of the sweat of thy face and of the labour of thy hands." This is based upon the Teaching, and the changes introduced shew again the influences of glosses upon the early chapters of Genesis. It certainly does not seem as if there were much need of making any change in the words *εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου*.

An early Targum is probably concealed in the saying.

There remain the words *μέχρις ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς*. The difficulty of these words lies in the fact that they contradict what has preceded. They introduce a caution in almsgiving which has already been excluded. Not only so, but they are at variance with the fourth chapter of the Teaching which directs *ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου· οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης*. Now the plain sense of this is "Thou shalt give thine alms freely, *for thou givest to God*," and the same thing is intimated in Orac. Sib. ii. 80,

ὃς δ' ἐλεημοσύνην παρέχει, θεῷ οἶδε δανείζειν.

The suspicion then arises in our mind that there must have been in the early Church a saying current of the form *γνῶθι τίνι δῷς* which was susceptible of a double interpretation. One school interpreted it as meaning "Know that your alms are an offering to God": the other interpreted it cautiously in the sense "Be sure of the people to whom your alms are given." Perhaps the passage thus variously interpreted was based upon Sirach xii. 1 *ἐὰν εὖ ποιῇς γνῶθι τίνι ποιεῖς.* For we find in the tract *Questions to Antiochus*[1] that two interpretations of this verse are discussed. "Some persons say that we ought to avoid indiscriminate charity and to enquire carefully if the person who comes to us is really in need. For Solomon says 'if thou doest good take heed to whom thou doest it.' But this is a perversion of the evil-minded, similar to their wresting of the other Scriptures, for Solomon did not speak of the poor man; but 'take heed to whom thou doest,' i.e. that thou doest it to God."

Here we see the question decided as in the fourth chapter of the Teaching; alms are a gift to God rather than to man. The same solution is implied by Hermas who rejects all questions of the form *τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ* as foreign to the spirit of primitive Christianity. Thus in his Second Mandate he says *ἐκ τῶν κόπων σου ὧν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσίν σοι πᾶσιν ὑστερουμένοις δίδου ἁπλῶς, μὴ διστάζων τίνι δῷς ἢ τίνι μὴ δῷς'...τὴν διακονίαν... ἐτέλεσεν μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῷ ἢ μὴ δῷ.* But from these words it is sufficiently clear that the two interpretations of "knowing to whom we give" were current in the time of Hermas. We are almost driven then to the belief in the existence of a formula *γνῶθι τίνι δῷς* when we find in the Teaching the words "Thou shalt *know* who is thy recompenser," and in Hermas as just quoted. But if this be the case, how are we to explain the two opposite currents of interpretation in the Teaching? The first chapter is out of harmony with itself as well as out of harmony with the fourth.

May not the true solution be that the words "let thine alms sweat in thy hands" are an oral Targum on Gen. iii. 19, while the added clause "until thou know to whom to give" is a primitive formula inserted subsequently to the first publication of the Teaching and by way of explanation?

On the Cosmic Mystery.

The Cosmic Mystery of the Church

Our next difficulty is in the 11th chapter of the Teaching: "No prophet who has been tried and is true, when he acts with reference to a cosmic mystery of the Church but does not teach others to do what he does, shall be judged at your hands; for with God he has his judgment; for on the

[1] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxviii. 649.

same wise did the prophets of old time also." The question is as to the meaning of the words *ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας*. The key to the passage lies in the allusion to actions of the prophets of an earlier day, which were not to be imitated, and apparently were only justified because they were done to expound some mystery.

has reference to abnormal doings of early prophets and teachers

Now if we turn to the discussion of Justin with Trypho and his companions, § 94, Justin gives an explanation of a problem whose solution one of his hearers admits he had vainly sought from many Jewish teachers, viz. why Moses, having enunciated a law against graven images, should have himself made a serpent of brass. It was, says Justin, a mystery which he was announcing, to wit, he proclaimed the dissolution of the power of the serpent who had caused transgression to come to pass through Adam, and the salvation for those who believed in him that was to be crucified, &c. And his hearer gladly accepts his explanation and promises attention to the further mystery which Justin proceeds to unfold; for, says he, it is on account of these things that even the teachings of the prophets have fallen into evil repute[1].

with a view to the exposition

of deep religious truths

The very same difficulty which was felt by the Jewish audience of Justin must have been known in Christian circles, if we may judge from the frequent expositions given of the meaning of the Brazen Serpent. And Barnabas expressly (c. xii.) discourses on the subject: *Πέρας γέ τοι Μωϋσῆς ἐντειλάμενος· Οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν οὔτε χωνευτὸν οὔτε γλυπτὸν εἰς θεὸν ὑμῖν, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ.*

especially with regard to Christ and the Church.

In a similar manner Justin explains the conduct of Jacob in taking four wives and two of them sisters; first he reproaches the Jews with making a precedent out of Jacob's conduct for marrying as many women as they took a fancy to, and then goes on to shew that in every such patriarchal action a great mystery was involved. The nuptials of Jacob were a type of an action which was to be consummated by Christ; Leah being the synagogue and Rachel the Gentile Church[2].

[1] Dial. 94. *εἴπατε γάρ μοι, οὐχὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐντειλάμενος διὰ Μωυσέως μήτε ὁμοίωμα μήτε τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὅλως ποιῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐνέργησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ σημεῖον ἔστησε δι' οὗ σημείου ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὀφιόδηκτοι καὶ ἀναίτιός ἐστιν ἀδικίας; μυστήριον γὰρ διὰ τούτου, ὡς προέφην, ἐκήρυσσε.....καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ περὶ τούτου πολλάκις τοὺς διδασκάλους ἠρώτησα καὶ οὐδείς μοι λόγον ἀπέδωκεν. ὥστε λέγε σὺ ἃ λέγεις· προσέχομεν γάρ σοι* ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ *ἀποκαλύπτοντι, δι' ὧν καὶ τὰ τῶν* ΠΡΟΦΗΤΩΝ *διδάγματα συκοφαντητά ἐστι.*

[2] Dial. 134. *καὶ ἐὰν εὔμορφόν τις ἰδὼν ἐπιθυμήσῃ αὐτῆς, τὰς Ἰακὼβ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πατριαρχῶν πράξεις ἀνιστοροῦντες καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν λέγοντες* ΤΟΥΣ ΤΑ ΟΜΟΙΑ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΝΤΑΣ, *τάλανες καὶ ἀνόητοι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ὄντες. ὡς προέφην γάρ, οἰκονομίαι τινὲς* ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ *ἐν ἑκάστῃ τινὶ τοιαύτῃ πράξει ἀπετελοῦντο.....τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μελλούσης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι πράξεως τύποι ἦσαν οἱ γάμοι τοῦ Ἰακώβ.* The same interpretation in Irenaeus IV. xxi. 3, "Omnia autem ille faciebat propter illam juniorem, oculos bonos habentem, Rachel, quae praefigurabat ECCLESIAM, propter quam sustinuit Christus qui tunc quidem per patriarchas suos et PROPHETAS praefigurans et praenuntians futura, etc."

If we turn to Irenaeus (IV. xx. 12) we shall find him explaining two abnormal acts of the earlier prophets, one the marriage of Hosea with the harlot, another that of Moses with the Ethiopian. "Propter quod et Osee propheta accepit uxorem fornicationis; per operationem prophetans quoniam fornicando fornicabitur terra a Domino, hoc est, qui super terram sunt homines; et de hujusmodi hominibus beneplacitum habebit Deus assumere ecclesiam sanctificandam communicatione Filii ejus, sicut et illa sanctificata est communione prophetae. Et propter hoc Paulus sanctificatam ait infidelem mulierem in viro fideli. Adhuc etiam filios suos nominavit propheta, Non-misericordiam-consecuta et Non-populus.....Id quod A PROPHETA TYPICE PER OPERATIONEM FACTUM EST, ostendit apostolus VERE FACTUM IN ECCLESIA A CHRISTO." The action of Hosea was therefore a cosmic mystery of Christ and the Church: the same thing holds of the marriage of Moses, as follows:—

Διὰ τοῦ γάμου Μωϋσέως ὁ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ νοητὸς γάμος ἐδείκνυτο, καὶ διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπικῆς νυμφῆς ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησία ἐδηλοῦτο.

The preceding illustrations will then suffice to shew what sort of actions on the part of the earlier prophets had to be explained symbolically and not imitated. They were cosmic mysteries, inasmuch as they were wrought upon the stage of this world to illustrate what was doing or to be done on a higher plane. Their frequent reference to the subject of marriage and to the mystery of Christ and the Church shews that we are to translate *ἐκκλησίας* in the Teaching as a genitive. A good illustration may be taken from Athanasius, *De Virginitate* § 2, where discoursing on the mystery of Christ and the Church he says, *Ὥσπερ ἡ ἐκκλησία ὑποτάσσεται τῷ κυρίῳ, οὕτω καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐν πᾶσι. ἀπ' αὐτῶν γὰρ τῶν κοσμικῶν, ἐὰν θέλωμεν, καὶ τὰ ἄνω νοοῦμεν. ἡ δὲ συναπτομένη τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ νυμφίῳ, τὸ θέλημα τοῦ νυμφίου αὐτῆς κατεργάζεται.* So far then we have the matter clear; and the contingency which the Teaching contemplates is the recurrence of similar eccentric conduct on the part of the new prophets: for, as Justin points out, the gift of prophecy had passed over from the Jews to the Christians. Many symbolic actions must have been performed in the early days of the Church of which no record has come down to us: those cases, however, which survive, such as the binding of Agabus' hands and feet with the girdle of Paul, are harmless enough, and would scarcely need to be protected from criticism by precept.

The references given above may be completed by shewing the source in the Rabbinic literature from which this curious expression is derived. The word *κόσμος*, both here and in the expression "let this world pass away," is the Hebrew עולם, and the "cosmic mystery" stands for כבשונו של עולם of the Rabbis.

The difficult expression is found *verbatim* in Rabbinic literature.

Thus the tract *Chagigah*[1] has a curious passage dealing with the matter of the Beginning, i.e. the Gnosis on Exodus, and the matter of the Chariot, i.e. the mystical exposition of Ezekiel: and the necessity of keeping these mysteries secret is enforced as follows:

"Rabbi Abuhu says [we may also derive it] from this [text] The lambs are for thy clothing (Prov. xxvii. 26). Do not read it כבשים *lambs*, but כבושים *the secret things*, (meaning) the things that are the Mystery of the Universe, let them be as a garment unto thee."

The passage is expanded by Maimonides[2] as follows:

"Now these things are exceedingly profound and not every intellect is capable of sustaining them, therefore Solomon says in his wisdom concerning them by way of a proverb, *The lambs are thy clothing.* So the sages say as an explanation of the proverb, The things which are *a Mystery of the Universe*, let them be as a garment to thee, meaning, to thyself alone, and do not discuss them before many people."

On ἐκπέτασις in heaven.

ἐκπέτασις denotes the appearance of the Cross in Heaven.

This expression in the last chapter of the Teaching which caused some perplexity in the first reading of the Teaching is now understood to mean the sign of the cross, or, as Dr Taylor translates it, "the sign of a *cross* spread out in heaven."

According to the Teaching the three Signs of the Truth are (i) *ἐκπέτασις* in heaven, (ii) the sound of the trumpet, (iii) the resurrection of the elect. Now in Matthew xxiv. 30, 31, we have *καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς· καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος φωνῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ.* This agrees very closely with the order in the Teaching if we take *ἐκπέτασις* to mean the cross, and the cross to be the sign of the Son of Man. Hence it is not surprising that the Apostolical Constitutions in the VIIth book, which incorporates the Teaching, interpret the first sign of the truth to be the sign of the Son of Man. If there is any difference between the Teaching and the Gospel it is upon the point whether the first sign is Christ's cross or Christ himself, a point which we shall find some of the fathers discuss.

Its root-meaning is "flying" then "praying" and "crucifixion."

The word *ἐκπέτασις* is in its first idea the spreading abroad of a bird's wings, then it is used of the attitude of a man in prayer with his arms outstretched, and finally of a human form stretched upon a cross. All three meanings are involved in the beautiful sentence with which Tertullian

[1] f. 13 a דברים שהם כבשונו של עולם.

[2] *Hilkoth yesode hathorah*, c. 2. 18.

closes his treatise *De Oratione:* "and even the little birds, rising from their nests, spread abroad the cross of their wings and utter what is meant to be a prayer to God." Two of them are found in c. xiv. of the same treatise, where he says "We not only raise our hands but also expand them.....and taking our model from the Lord's passion, even in prayer we confess to Christ." And when once the connexion between the outspread arms of prayer and the Passion was established, the fathers could hardly come across a passage in which the words ἐκπέτασις, ἔκτασις, and the like occur, without making some allusion to the cross. If God spread out his hands all the day to a disobedient people, it was from the Cross: if Moses prayed with supported hands for warring Israel, he was a type of Christ on the Cross. The very name for the Crucifixion in some languages is derived from this: thus in the Slavonic the word means "a spreading abroad," "an expansion," "a stretching asunder[1]"; while in the Ethiopic liturgy a similar usage is found, and the Lord is described as suffering to fulfil the Father's will, and to gather to Him a people *by the expansion of his hands*[2]. The Syriac literature also, as represented by the recently published *Book of the Bee*, furnishes very interesting confirmation of the preceding statements, and a reference to it will be valuable as shewing some ground for believing that the term ἐκπέτασις exercised and perplexed the early students of the Teaching precisely as it has done the moderns, so that it was variously interpreted as a "rolling up" of the sky or "a hole in the firmament." The writer affirms in accordance with the Teaching[3] "Then will the Son of Perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan: and he will shew deluding phantasms and lead astray the world." After declaring that the cross was to be taken to Heaven he goes on "After Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction and encourages the believers, for a space and time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel...and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard....As touching the heavens some say that they will be rent and that the waters which are above the firmament will descend, for it is not possible for the substance of water to pass through the substance of the firmament.....Others say that the firmament will be rolled up like the curtain of a tent."

The idea involved is found throughout all the early Churches.

The following further illustrations will be useful:

John xxi. 18, 19, *ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χεῖράς σου.....τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ δοξάσει τὸν θεόν.*

[1] For this I am indebted to Prof. Long of Constantinople.

[2] Bunsen, *Christianity and Mankind*, vii. 108, "et filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam, et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas."

[3] Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 53.

Ep. Barnab. c. x., ἐξέτεινε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ οὕτως πάλιν ἐνίκα ὁ Ἰσραήλ· εἶτα, ὁπόταν πάλιν καθεῖλε, πάλιν ἐθανατοῦντο· πρὸς τί; ἵνα γνῶσιν ὅτι οὐ δύνανται σωθῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίσωσι· καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφήτῃ λέγει· Ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα ὁδῷ δικαίᾳ μου.

Orac. Sib. viii. 302,

ἐκπετάσει δὲ χέρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει·
εἰς δὲ τὸ βρῶμα χολὴν καὶ πίνειν ὄξος ἔδωκαν.

Cf. also Sib. viii. 251, ὃν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἁγνάς, and Sib. i. 372, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐκπετάσῃ χεῖρας καὶ πάντα μετρήσῃ.

Justin *Dial.* 90. Μωϋσῆς γὰρ πρῶτος ἐξέφανεν αὐτοῦ ταύτην τὴν δοκοῦσαν κατάραν δι' ὧν ἐποίησε σημείων. τίνων τούτων, ἔφη, λέγεις; ὅτε ὁ λαός, φημί, ἐπολέμει τῷ Ἀμαλὴκ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱός, ὁ ἐπονομασθεὶς τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι, τῆς μάχης ἦρχεν, αὐτὸς Μωϋσῆς ηὔχετο τῷ θεῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἑκατέρως ἐκπετάσας...ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄντος, αὐτὸς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐποίει.

Dial. 91. διά τε τοῦ τύπου τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Μωϋσέως.

Cf. *Dial.* 97. καὶ διὰ Ἡσαΐου ὁμοίως εἴρητο περὶ τούτου, δι' οὗ τρόπου ἀποθνήσκειν ἔμελλεν, οὕτως· Ἐξεπέτασά μου τὰς χεῖρας κτέ.

Dial. 111. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ μέχρις ἑσπέρας ἔμενεν, ὑποβασταζομένων τῶν χειρῶν, ὃ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τύπον δείκνυσιν ἢ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὁ δὲ κτέ.

Dial. 112. οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσομεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημεῖον, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωϋσῆς διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν κτέ.

1 *Apol.* 55. τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον σχῆμα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων διαφέρει, ἢ τῷ ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν...καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο δείκνυσιν ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* v. 17. ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβάλομεν αὐτόν, διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερὸν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο, ἐπιδεικνύων τὸ ὕψος καὶ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν, τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἕνα θεὸν συνάγων κτέ.[1]

Clem. Alex. *Paedagogus*, § 5. οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξεπέτασε τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἐναργῶς πεπιστευμένας.

Methodius, *De Cruce Domini* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xviii. 400). τά τε γὰρ ὄρνεα ὑψιπετοῦντα τὸ σταυροειδὲς κατὰ τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν πτερύγων σχῆμα αἰνίττονται· αὐτός τε ὁ ἄνθρωπος, τὰς χεῖρας πετάσας, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὑπάρχων φαίνεται ἢ τοῦτο.

Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iii. 18. Jam vero Moyses, quid utique tunc tantum, cum Jesus adversus Amalech praeliabatur, *expansis manibus* orabat residens,... nisi quia illic ubi nomen Domini Jesu dimicabat, dimicaturi quandoque adversus

[1] The last part of this quotation should be compared with the passage of the Ethiopic Liturgy previously referred to.

diabolum, crucis quoque erit habitus necessarius, per quam Jesus victoriam esset relaturus?

Cf. *De Idololatria* xii. Corpus solum, *quod in modum crucis est.*

Ad Nationes xii. Crucis qualitas, signum est de ligno; etiam de materia colitis penes vos cum effigie; quanquam sicut vestrum humana figura est, ita et nostrum propria...quoniam *ipsi quoque corpori nostro tacita et secreta linea crucis situs est...Si statueris hominem manibus expansis imaginem crucis feceris.*

Cyprian *Testim.* ii. 20. Quod cruci illum fixuri essent Judaei, apud Esaiam: Expandi manus meas tota die, etc.

Cyprian *Testim.* ii. 21. Hoc signo crucis et Amalech victus est ab Jesu per Moysen, etc.

De Exhort. Mart. 8. Moyses ad superandum Amalech qui figuram portabat diaboli in signo et sacramento crucis allevabat supinas manus etc.

The author of the Opus Imperfectum in Matt. comments as follows: "Quidam putant crucem Christi ostendendam esse in caelo; verius autem est ipsum Christum in corpore suo habentem testimonia passionis." Jerome comments much in the same strain: "Signum hic aut crucis intelligemus ut videant Judaei quem compunxerunt: aut vexillum victoriae triumphantis." And Chrysostom, Homil. lxxvii. in Matt., *τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· τούτεστιν ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ ἡλίου φαιδρότερος ὤν.*

Ps.-Hippolytus, *de Consummatione Mundi*, gives the order of signs as in Matthew (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* x. 940), *τὸ γὰρ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἕως δυσμῶν ἀνατελεῖ ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ μηνύσει τοῦ κριτοῦ τὴν ἔλευσιν καὶ τὴν ἐμφάνειαν, τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ... τότε γὰρ ὁ σάλπιγξ ἠχήσει καὶ ἐξυπνήσει τοὺς κεκοιμημένους.*

Cyril Hier. *Catech.* xiii. (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xxiii. 805). *ἐξεπέτασεν ἐν σταυρῷ τὰς χεῖρας ἵνα περιλάβῃ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα· τῆς γὰρ γῆς τὸ μεσώτατον ὁ Γολγοθᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν...ἐξέτεινεν ἀνθρωπίνας χεῖρας.*

Cyril (Alex.) quoted in Catena Nicephori, col. 896. *κέρατα δὲ θυσιαστηρίου οἱονεὶ χεῖρες ἐκτεταμέναι τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ τὸ σχῆμα προσαναπλάττουσαι κτέ.*

Philo Carpasius *in Cant.* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xl. col. 110). *Χριστοῦ γὰρ τανύσαντος ἐπὶ σταυροῦ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπέστρεψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ ἐκκλησία μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγουσα Ἐν τῇ σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου ἐλπιῶ*[1].

Procopius in Exod. (p. 268, ed. Gesner). Manus Mosis erant graves ut sub harum typo commonstraretur crux Christi. His...extensis palmis susceperunt crucem, Christo ipsos quodammodo fulciente et tutante ut declararetur per Ur et Aaron qui sub typo docent Christum esse et judicem et summum pontificem.

Imitatio Christi. Atque hoc erit signum crucis in caelo quum Dominus ad judicandum veniet.

[1] Notice how the writer reverts to the idea of wings involved in *ἐκπέτασις*.

HEBRAISMS OF THE TEACHING.

The Teaching is Hebraistic from cover to cover.

Whatever theory may be adopted with regard to the Teaching, whether we regard it as Jewish with Christian glosses, as Christian, or as a document emanating from some primitive heresy, our judgment with regard to it will have to take account of Hebraisms in style and in thought which colour the book almost from beginning to end, so that if written by a Christian, it would be one who was intimately acquainted with the language, literature and ritual of the Jews; if by a heretic, it must be one who belonged to a school that was in touch with the laws of interpretation that prevailed in Rabbinical circles. To confirm these statements it is only necessary to add to what the previous pages furnish in illustration of them some striking points which come to the light as we proceed to examine the text with care; and to mark the parallel passages in the Jewish literature; a task in which I have had much and valuable assistance from my friend Mr W. R. Brown of Cambridge.

It is a Talmud

To begin with; the very title of the book is Hebraistic; it is a *Talmud;* if we drop the numeral from the title (and it is suspected by some critics not to be a part of the original draft) there is nothing foreign to the heading of a handbook for Jewish missionaries in the title

תלמוד השליחים

for it is extremely likely that the term *Apostle* is the recognized Greek form for the Hebrew שליח.

or a Targum,

The Exordium of the book should be compared with the Targum[1] on Deut. xxx. 15, "Behold, I have set before you this day *the way of life* wherein is the recompense of the reward of good unto the righteous: and *the way of death* wherein is the retribution of the wages of evil unto the wicked, for I teach you to-day *to love the Lord* your God and to walk in his ways that are right."

This Targum furnishes us the link between the doctrine of the Two Ways and the precept of the love of God, and shews how they were connected in Jewish minds. And incidentally it does more; it will be noted that the expression is used that God is the recompenser of the reward of good unto the righteous, a Hebraism similar to that which the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews presents us with when he says that "Moses had respect unto the recompense of the reward[2]." Now this very expression is found in the Teaching, iv. 7, "Thou shalt know who is the good recompenser of the reward," a sentence which differs from the Targum chiefly in the displacement of the adjective from the reward to the re-

[1] Edersheim, *Targums on the Pentateuch*, ii. 654.

[2] Heb. xi. 26.

compenser. Whatever may be thought of this parallelism it can hardly fail to be regarded as a striking Hebraism on the part of the Teaching.

In a similar manner it is possible for us to connect together from Hebrew theology the precepts of love to God and the neighbour, and the Golden Rule. Much has been said on these points, especially on the last, concerning the negative form of which reference has been made to Confucius, Tobit, Hillel, &c. to establish its antiquity and its wide diffusion, (Tob. iv. 15) while on the other hand there is evidence from the early western texts of the Acts of the Apostles to shew that it must have been early current among Christians in this form as well as in that given by the Gospels[1].

An interesting passage in the *Yen Lebanon*, a modern commentary on *Pirqe Avoth*, makes the following connexion: "The commandment for the (*Avoth* i. 13) 'love of the brotherhood' is one of the commandments based upon the law and to be interpreted thereby, as it is said 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. xix. 18), and all men are bound by it. Hillel the elder interpreted this thing and said 'What to thyself is hateful, do not to thy neighbour.'" And it is the very same sequence which was in Paul's saying "Love worketh *no evil* to his neighbour, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."

Here then we have an illustration of the way in which Jewish thought made the connexion between the separate precepts. And it is probable that it circulated for some time in the very form in which it is here presented, since the Apostolical Constitutions still present us with the rule in the words *ὃ μισεῖς σοι γενέσθαι οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ σὺ ποιήσεις*[2]. The only change from the archaic form that has taken place is in the last part of the sentence. Here it has been made a trifle more comprehensive by writing *ἄλλῳ*: the language of Hillel would give *ἑταίρῳ*, the word *ἑταῖρος* standing for the Hebrew *Chaber*, the equivalent of which stands, in the New Testament, as I suppose, in the well-known passage "Who is my neighbour?" But this *ἑταῖρος* became in Greek *ἕτερος* by itacism, and then *ἄλλος*. We can see some traces of the change in the Teaching itself where in c. xiv. *ἑταίρου* remains, while in c. xv. it reads *ἑτέρου*. This word again is a thorough Hebraism and proves that at the time when the Teaching was originally produced, it was designed for members of a religious brotherhood, not wholly dissimilar from those which we know to have existed among the Pharisees[3].

Returning to the opening verses of the Teaching we find the sentence "and of these words this is the Teaching" (a perfect Hebrew sentence in which λόγοι = דברים). But why should what follows be described particularly as Teaching? The reason seems to be that the opening sentences are

[1] Vide apparatus criticus on Acts xv. 20, 29.

[2] Ap. Const. iii. 15.

[3] See Taylor, *Pirqe Avoth*, p. 30.

not Teaching but *Thorah:* they are taken directly from the Old Testament, and what follows is an extended commentary to elucidate the text; they are Targum or Talmud to a proposed text.

Concerning the passages that follow there is some dispute; many good reasons have been produced for regarding them as interpolated; they are, however, susceptible of a good deal of illumination from Jewish sources; and if not the earliest part of the book, they cannot be very late in time. We shall, however, discuss their genuineness under its own head.

and contains "fences" to its laws,

One of the most interesting Hebraisms in the following chapters is found at the beginning of chapter iii., "My child, flee from all evil and all that is like to it." Dr Taylor has pointed out that the verse contains the important principle of the "fence to the Law," by means of which a person is kept at a distance from sin; this fence, for example, is the rule according to which Hillel decided that a person must not look upon a festival egg lest he should wish to touch it nor touch it lest he should wish to eat it. It is a principle which occurs again a few sentences lower down, "Nor be willing to look upon them, for from all these things idolatries are generated." But Dr Taylor goes further and points out that the opening words of the chapter

which shew close agreement with the traditional Talmud.

are a literal translation of the following sentence in the Talmud[1], "Flee from the base and from its likeness"; a sentiment which occurs also with very little change in *Avoth Rabbi Nathan*, c. 2, "Flee from the filthy and all that is like to the filthy[2]." The sentiment was understood by the fathers and finds an echo in them; it will also be found versified in the Sibylline Oracles. It appears in the New Testament as the doctrine of avoiding the appearance of evil, and a writer in the Talmud says that "whatever the wise men have prohibited for appearance sake, is forbidden in the most secret chambers[3]."

It will be seen, in passing, that the foregoing considerations do not lend much support to the Revised rendering "every form of evil" in 1 Thess. v. 22.

Involves a gnosis on the Ten Words,

Another passage upon which Dr Taylor has thrown much light is the sentence which was quoted by Clement of Alexandria by which Lagarde and others were so much quickened to a belief in the antiquity of the primitive Didascalia which underlies the early Canons and Constitutions, "My child, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft." Dr Taylor refers to a remarkable passage in the *Mekiltha* which describes the Ten Commandments as being written five on one table and five on the other and traces a subtle correspondence between the sins on one side of the table and the sins on the other. Thus "it was written, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;* and opposite to it *Thou shalt not steal.*" At first sight this

[1] Talm. Bab. *Chullin* 44 b, הרחק מן הביעו ומן הדומה לן.

[2] הרחק מן הכיעיר ומן הדומה לכיעיר.

[3] *Shabbath* f. 64 b, כל מקום שאסרי חכמים מפני מראות עין אפילו בחדרי חדרים אסור.

explanation seems a little artificial, in spite of the illustrations by which it is supported, especially since the other parts of the chapter do not seem to be constructed on the same plan. It is, however, the only explanation that has been suggested, and is well supported by the instances which Dr Taylor brings forward. Perhaps the following additional considerations may not be out of place.

Concerning the arrangement of the Commandments on the tables there can be no doubt: Philo gives us express information on the point, and there is a consensus amongst Jewish teachers thereupon: so that the tables stood as follows:

I am the Lord thy God.	Thou shalt not murder,
Thou shalt have no other gods.	nor commit adultery,
Thou shalt not take the name, &c.	nor steal,
Remember the Sabbath.	nor bear false witness,
Honour thy father.	nor covet.

The whole arrangement is described as follows in the Jewish service-book (Machzor for Pentecost): "They were set in order one after the other and joined *vis-à-vis*, being tables written on this side and on the other side. And the writing was written by God to confirm it, and he engraved them opposite to each other *for purposes of commentary:* he arranged them five against five.

"The pleasant expression 'I AM' he caused them to hear, and opposite to it he admonished them to observe 'thou shalt not kill,' *to understand and to judge the one from the other*, that when creatures stumble and spill blood it is equally as if they presumptuously diminished the glory of God, for in the image of God made he man. And the second commandment he pointed to, THOU SHALT NOT HAVE, and opposite to it he admonished the congregation, THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY. Thus every word was fitly spoken: to shew that he that denieth God is like to her that committeth adultery[1], for instead of her husband she consorted with others. He commanded THOU SHALT NOT TAKE IN VAIN THE NAME of him that searcheth the reins; opposite he admonished THOU SHALT NOT STEAL to aggrandise thyself, for the thief, the murderer and the adulterer swear *to a lie*." And so with the rest of the passage, which is even more forced in its interpretation than what has been given, as for instance that the false witness will not testify that the world was made in six days.

The parallelism here drawn out seems to have been understood by the early Christians. Tertullian harps upon the relations of idolatry to murder and adultery in a manner[2] which seems to involve more than word-play:

[1] "Most idolaters are adulterers," *Kethuvoth*, 13 b.

[2] *De Idololatria*, § 1. "Idololatres, idem homicida est...proinde adulterium et stuprum in eodem recognosces."

and perhaps St Paul's "covetousness, which is idolatry[1]," may be due to some attempt to re-arrange the parallel injunctions of the Tables.

and a decided memory of the Jewish Vidui.

Another peculiar passage is the fifth chapter of the Teaching which contains a list of vices characteristic of the evil way, followed by a list of vicious persons variously described, without any connecting particles or verbs. No doubt the style of this passage is Hebraistic, and the transition from the vice-catalogue to the vicious-catalogue can be paralleled by similar constructions from Jewish sources. But there is something more in the matter than this: when a Jew confesses his sins on the Day of Atonement he makes an alphabetical confession (called Vidui), enumerating the sins according to the twenty-two letters of the alphabet, from Aleph to Tau. Now our writer has not shewn any signs of an alphabetic order, but he has betrayed his reminiscence of the prayers on the Day of Atonement or some similar catalogue by enumerating exactly twenty-two vices; while the number of vicious persons is either twenty-two or so nearly as to indicate a similar structure. The chapter, then, should be printed as follows[2]:

"But the Way of Death is this.
First of all it is evil and full of curse.

Murders	Persecutors of the good,
Adulteries	hating truth,
Lusts	loving falsehood,
Fornications	not knowing the reward of righteousness,
Thefts	not cleaving to that which is good
Idolatries	nor to just judgment,
Sorceries	watchful not unto that which is good
Witchcrafts	but unto that which is evil,
Ravenings	far from whom are meekness
False-witnessings	and patience,
Hypocrisies	loving vain things,
Doubleness of Heart	following after reward,
Guile	not pitying the poor man,
Arrogance	not travailing for the distressed,
Malice	not knowing him that made them,
Self-will	slayers of children,
Greed	destroyers of God's workmanship,
Impure Speech	turning aside from him that is in need,
Jealousy	distressing him that is afflicted,
Presumption	advocates of the rich,

[1] Col. iii. 5.
[2] Translation from Dr Taylor.

Haughtiness	lawless judges of the poor,
Braggery	universal sinners[1].

May ye be delivered, children, from all these."

The question will at once arise whether we have here a translation of Hebrew catalogues arranged alphabetically or misplaced from an original alphabetical order; and whether the vicious are meant to match the vices. The latter question must, I think, be answered in the negative; we cannot rearrange the matter into a correspondence; the former demands more consideration.

It is interesting to notice that this remarkable numerical arrangement has disappeared from Barnabas, having been disturbed by additions and omissions; a further proof of the antiquity of the Teaching, if any further proof were needed; at the same time we see how futile are those arguments which would make the worse-arranged text the later; an alphabetical confession, of necessity, deserts logical order.

Let us see whether any further light can be thrown on the supposition of a primitive Catalogue of Sins which has suggested the enumeration made by the author of the Teaching. The service for the Day of Atonement is full of alliterative confession and prayer. Not only is there a general Vidui, but there is a more extended one, in which the manner and matter of sins are given in detail; e.g.

By force or free-will	באנס וברצן
By hardness of heart	באמון הלב
By want of knowledge	בבלי דעת
By rashness of the lips	בבטוי שפתים
&c. &c.	&c. &c.

and such catalogues can hardly fail to throw some suggestion in our way as we proceed to elucidate the problem.

But this is not all; there are traces of a precisely similar usage in the Pauline Epistles: for instance, we find in Rom. i. 29 a catalogue of sins which runs as follows:

πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ πονηρίᾳ πλεονεξίᾳ κακίᾳ, μεστοὺς φθόνου φόνου ἔριδος δόλου κακοηθείας, ψιθυριστάς, καταλάλους, θεοστυγεῖς, ὑβριστάς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς, ἀσυνέτους,

[1] The reason for the coinage of this word is that the catalogue is based upon a tale of sins from Aleph to Tau; hence they are universal sinners. Cf. Talm. Bab. *Shabbath*, § 55 a, "Rabbi Joseph taught thus: Do not read *at my Sanctuary*, ממקדשי (Ezek. ix. 6), but ממקודשי, *at my Saints*, namely, at the men who have fulfilled the law from Aleph to Tau." The saints would be *πανθάγιοι* if treated as the sinners are treated in the Teaching. In harmony with this interpretation we are told in *Yalkut Rubeni*, f. 17 a, col. 2, that "Adam transgressed the whole law from Aleph to Tau"; and on f. 48 b, col. 2, that "Abraham kept the whole law from Aleph to Tau."

ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους, ἀσπόνδους, ἀνελεήμονας· οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπίγνοντες, ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν.

I have inserted *ἀσπόνδους* on the faith of certain MSS.: there is also a question of reading *πορνείᾳ* before or after *πονηρίᾳ*, but it is not clear whether the theory of the accidental omission of such a word could be maintained without better authority. Leaving this word out we have again a catalogue of TWENTY-TWO vices and one which is instructive when read side by side with that in the Teaching. For it shews us, what was not apparent, the reason for the queer clause "It is evil and full of curse." Twice this is illustrated by Romans (*πεπληρωμένους, μεστοὺς*). The words "It is full of curse" are therefore probably the rejected commencement of the Vidui by which the catalogue in the Teaching was suggested. Rendered into Hebrew as in Rom. iii. 14 (= Ps. x. 7) they run מלא אלה which furnishes us with the necessary initial alphabetic sign. Nor is the coincidence of the two catalogues confined to numerical equivalence and similarity of opening: there are six words which coincide in the two, and may, therefore, reasonably be suspected to form a part of the archaic Vidui: these are *φόνος, πλεονεξία, κακία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, ἀλαζονεία.* Further, St Paul's catalogue seems to be a translation of a Way of Death, since he adds the words, "they that do such things are *worthy of death*."

We should therefore print side by side as follows:

Confession of Day of Atonement.	Catalogue of Teaching.	Catalogue of Rom. i. 29.	[Cf. Catalogue of Mark vii. 21.
אשמנו	*φόνοι*	*ἀδικία*	*διαλογισμοὶ κακοί*
בגדנו	*μοιχεῖαι*	*πονηρία*	*πορνεῖαι*
גזלנו	*ἐπιθυμίαι*	*πλεονεξία*	*κλοπαί*
דברנו דפי	*πορνεῖαι*	*κακία*	*φόνοι*
העוינו	*κλοπαί*	*φθόνος*	*μοιχεῖαι*
והרשענו	*εἰδωλολατρίαι*	*φόνος*	*πλεονεξίαι*
זדנו	*μαγεῖαι*	*ἔρις*	*πονηρίαι*
חמסנו	*φαρμακίαι*	*δόλος*	*δόλος*
טפלנו שקר	*ἁρπαγαί*	*κακοηθεία*	*ἀσέλγεια*
יעצנו רע	*ψευδομαρτυρίαι*	*ψιθυρισταί*	*ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός*
כזבנו	*ὑποκρίσεις*	*κατάλαλοι*	*βλασφημία*
לצנו	*διπλοκαρδία*	*θεοστυγεῖς*	*ὑπερηφανία*
מרדנו	*δόλος*	*ὑβρισταί*	*ἀφροσύνη*]

Confession of Day of Atonement.	Catalogue of Teaching.	Catalogue of Rom. i. 29.
נאצנו	*ὑπερηφανία*	*ὑπερήφανοι*
סררנו	*κακία*	*ἀλαζόνες*
עוינו	*αὐθάδεια*	*ἐφευρεταὶ κακῶν*
פשענו	*πλεονεξία*	*γονεῦσιν ἀπειθεῖς*
צררנו	*αἰσχρολογία*	*ἀσύνετοι*
קשינו ערף	*ζηλοτυπία*	*ἀσύνθετοι*
רשענו	*θρασύτης*	*ἄστοργοι*
שחתנו	*ὕψος*	*ἄσπονδοι*
תעבנו תעינו תעתענו	*ἀλαζονεία*	*ἀνελεήμονες*

The column on the left represents the Vidui in its modern form; but it is certain that it has been altered from the Confession as used in the Temple. A false sentiment has removed the more glaring vices of the Decalogue, all of which, we may be sure, were represented in the Confession of this solemn day. It is, however, possible, by comparing the different Jewish service-books and by a reference to the authority of MSS., to restore some points. For example, it is certain that נאצנו (= we have blasphemed) stands for a primitive נאפנו (= we have committed adultery). The two last words of the Confession are a later supplement. No doubt other changes might be brought to light.

The question now is to identify which terms in the three columns answer to one another; a reference to Delitzsch's translation of the passage in Romans shews us זדים for *ὑπερήφανοι* and this clearly is the זדנו of the left-hand column. The same translation gives us בגדים for *ἀσύνθετοι* of the third column; now this must be the בגדנו of the left-hand column. For *ἀδικία* Delitzsch gives חמס which is found also in the left-hand column. *πονηρία* is רשע and is found in the left-hand column. May we not say further that *ἐφευρεταὶ κακῶν* is Paul's translation of יעצנו רע? There is sufficient reason then to suspect common matter in the Vidui and the Pauline Catalogue, and it has been shewn that there is also common matter between the Pauline Catalogue and that in the Teaching, and further for *μοιχεῖαι* we have shewn that there should stand נאפנו in the Vidui. A comparison of the Catalogue in Romans with 2 Tim. iii. 2—5 will shew again a number of singular recurrences, which are better explained by a common documentary origin than by a coincidence of authorship. Is it unreasonable then to imagine a common catalogue out of which they have all arisen? It will, perhaps, be said that it is inevitable that catalogues of sins should shew agreement; this is perfectly true; but it must be re-

membered that in the present case our suspicion is invited by the equality in length of the catalogues.

It would be an indulgence in mere speculation to attempt from our uncertain materials to reconstruct the table of vices from Aleph to Tau, of whose existence we have become suspicious. It may not however be amiss to note that several of the terms used in the Teaching will at once suggest Hebrew expressions which begin with the letter answering to the place of the word in the catalogue, as though they had been unaffected by the re-arrangement of the terms.

Such are

ἁρπαγαί = טרפה.
διπλοκαρδία = לב ולב.
δόλος = מרמה.
ζηλοτυπία = קנאה.

Here, then, we must leave the matter for the present with the following summary: *there is ground for a suspicion that the Vidui of the Day of Atonement, the Catalogue of vices in the Teaching, and the Catalogue in the first chapter of Romans, are all derived from a lost alphabetical Catalogue of Sins.*

Adopts the Jewish rules for the testing of prophecy,

Much perplexity has been caused by the descriptions given of the ways of the prophets, and the rules for their discrimination into true and false. Concerning the former we have written at length under the head of the Cosmic Mystery; but something should be said in addition with reference to the testing of the prophet and the manner in which he is said to have his judgment with God. The rules here given are, without doubt, taken from the Jews, though they were brought into greater prominence on account of the practical question with which the Church had to deal, namely, that of directing into right channels the energy of a new Visitation of God, and safeguarding itself from the impostures of the Evil One. But the Jews must have already discussed and settled this question from the speculative side in commenting on the rules given in the Pentateuch for knowing the true prophet from the false. The whole matter is expounded at length in Maimonides, with close analogy to the Teaching. He begins by pointing out that "It is part of the foundation of the law to know that God may cause the sons of men to prophesy," and then proceeds to shew the connexion between prophesying and sanctity, and that it is a gift belonging to those only who are delivered from the evil nature. Rules for recognizing prophecy and descriptions of its tendency follow. It is insisted upon that a prophet shall act upon his own message, or be *judged of Heaven.* "He who trespasses against his words deserves to be destroyed by Heaven, for it is said 'And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto My words which he shall speak in My name, *I will require*

it of him' (Deut. xviii. 19). Moreover, a prophet who trespasses against his own words or suppresses his prophecy, also deserves to be destroyed of Heaven: and it is with regard to these cases that it is said, *I will require it of him.*"

The passage is probably based upon the following from the tract *Sanhedrin*[1].

"He who is a false prophet, he who prophesies that which he has not heard, and he who prophesies that which was not said unto him, are to be destroyed by the hands of men: but he who suppresses his prophecy, and he who is slack about the words of a prophet, and also a prophet who transgresses his own words, are to be destroyed by the hands of Heaven, for it is said, 'I will require it of him.'" And an illustration is given from 1 Kings xiii. of the old prophet who was sent to Bethel.

Here then we have two points in the Teaching especially illuminated, (i.) *εἰ ἃ διδάσκει οὐ ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί*, (ii.) *μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν*, the latter passage being proved by Deut. xviii. 19.

We may also shew how the apparent contradiction in the Teaching between "tempting no prophet who speaks by the Spirit," and the assertion that "not every one who speaks by the Spirit is a prophet," is to be resolved. Here a distinction is made between the recognized prophet who habitually is under the influence of the Spirit (so that we may take *λαλοῦντα* in c. xi. 7 as an imperfect tense), and one who is beginning to claim attention as a seer or teacher. Concerning the first the Rabbis required an almost complete suspense of judgment, the prophet was already *δεδοκιμασμένος*, tried and tested metal. Hence Maimonides says[2]:

"A prophet whose prophecy shall have become known, and whose words shall have been repeatedly believed, or to whom another prophet shall have borne witness, and who moreover has been walking in the ways of prophecy[3] —it will be unlawful to make reflections upon him, or to suspect his prophecy that it may not be true. Moreover it is unlawful to tempt him more than necessary: so that we must not be continually tempting him: for it is said, 'Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God as ye tempted him in Massah, when they said *Is the Lord among us* or not?' But after it has become known that this man is a prophet, they ought to believe and to know that the Lord is among them, and ought not to suspect him: as it is said: 'yet they shall know that there hath been *a prophet among them.*'"

The last sentence gives fresh force to the expression in the Teaching (xii. 1) *δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε*. Light is also thrown on the words in the sixth chapter, "without God he is teaching thee," for if

[1] Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin*, c. 10.
[2] *Hilkoth yesode hathorah*, 10 g.
[3] Cf. Διδ. xi. 8, *ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου.*

he were a true prophet, it would be known that the Lord was among them, as well as that a prophet was among them. And indeed from these two considerations it follows that where the Teaching about God is, there God himself is. From the foregoing passages it will be clear that our Teaching is rooted in rules of Judaism which were already formulated.

A peculiar and unnoticed Hebraism lies in the expression of c. xii. 4, "According to your understanding provide that no idle person shall live amongst you as a Christian." I do not think that it has been noticed that this expression is euphemistic; it involves rough treatment, perhaps ejectment from the Church. The passage 1 Kings ii. 6 will illustrate it, in which David on his deathbed directing Solomon to accomplish the murder of Joab, says "Do therefore according to thy wisdom." One cannot help wishing that the Church had always retained and acted upon the precept of the Teaching.

and for co-baptismal fastings,

A slight hint may perhaps be found in the directions which the Teaching gives for the conjunction of fasting with baptism by means of which a superior limit of time may be set to the Teaching considered as a Christian document.

which rules seem to be later than A.D. 70.

Concerning the antiquity of the rule given in the Teaching there need be no question as it is supported by the descriptions given by Justin in his First Apology. But how did the custom arise? A little reflection will shew that for a complete proselyte initiation three things were necessary, Circumcision, Baptism and Sacrifice. Now in borrowing the Jewish forms of initiation the Christians modified the rite of baptism in certain points and maintained it in practice; the rite of circumcision they were, however, unable to enforce on the new converts, and it was dropped at a very early period; what then with regard to the third? The necessity for a solution of this difficulty was felt even more by the Jews than by the Christians, especially after the destruction of the City: and the substitute which the Jews brought forward was *fasting*. It is positively stated in the Talmud that this substitute is later in date than the fall of Jerusalem, although otherwise we might have supposed the change to have been made at an early period in the interest of proselytes in distant countries. Thus we find in Talmud *Berachoth* 17 a, "Rab Shesheth, when fasting, after having repeated his prayers used to say, 'Lord of the world, it is revealed before thee that *while the Holy House stood* a man who was a sinner brought a sacrifice: it was only the fat and the blood that atoned for him. Now I am fasting and diminishing my fat and my blood: let it be thy pleasure that my fat and my blood thus decreased be offered before thee *as though offered on thy altar*.'"

It is clear that in the foregoing extract the mind of the Rabbi is dwelling upon the fact that fasting is the substitute for sacrifice, and the reason of this is the downfall of the Holy House. Now if we could regard this as the correct explanation of the change made in the ritual, since the Christians

must have borrowed the new custom from the Jews[1], then the fall of Jerusalem is a superior limit to the Teaching considered as a Christian document. The matter is not, however, so clear as it looks; may not the rule of fasting in lieu of sacrifice be somewhat earlier? There must have been always a difficulty felt in regard to the sacrifices made by proselytes of distant countries.

Follows the order of the Paschal Service.

No less interesting than the Hebraisms of baptism are those which attach themselves to the Eucharist. The prayers are full of reminiscence of the Jewish Passover ritual, and capable of direct illustration from the Jewish service-books of the present day: and even in those parts of the thanksgiving where no direct parallel can be made, the language of the Teaching is utterly Jewish. Take for example the rule of prayer given in *Berachoth* f. 40 b: "All blessing in which there is no mention of the *Name* is not a blessing; that blessing in which there is no mention of the *Kingdom* is not a blessing." To this test our Lord's prayer exactly corresponds, the *Name* and the *Kingdom* being the first points introduced, while the shortened doxology, whether the correct form or not, bears witness to the consciousness that the Kingdom having been mentioned once, did not need to be repeated. Similar things are true of the Teaching, especially in cases where the *Kingdom* is followed by the doxology: e.g.

"So let thy Church be gathered together...into thy *Kingdom;* for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever."

"Gather her from the four winds...into thy *Kingdom* which thou hast prepared for her: for thine is the power and the glory for ever."

And the "Name" is found in the expression, "Thy holy Name which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts." Nothing could be more evidently Jewish.

The same thing is true of the curious word *κλάσμα* which is used to describe the bread that is given thanks for. At first sight this looks artificial enough to be a Christian invention, especially in the light of the passage in the Gospel *τὸ σῶμα τὸ κλώμενον κτέ.* but a closer examination shews that it is a literal translation of the Hebrew word פת which is derived from a root meaning "to break." The word, however, must have lost all trace of this meaning; in the Old Testament we may find it used frequently with the word for bread (= a morsel of bread), but in the time of the Teaching it means nothing more or less than bread and should be so translated, without philological consciousness. Thus Rabbi Judah the Holy, when lamenting that he had given his bread to an unworthy person, uses this very term[2], and innumerable other instances might be given of the usage[3].

[1] The writer seems to be sensible of an agreement with the Jews, since he goes on at once "But let not your fasts (i.e. the periodic fasts) be with the hypocrites."

[2] T. B. *Bava Bathra*, f. 8 a.

[3] Cf. Talm. *Scheviith*, c. 8. Rabbi Eleazar said, "He that eateth the bread (פת) of a Cuthite (Samaritan) is as if he ate swine's flesh."

The blessings of the bread and of the cup are modifications, then, of the regular Jewish forms used at meals, and especially at the Passover service.

Notice also what the Teaching has taken up from the sentence in the Passover prayers concerning the "memorial of the Messiah the son of *David thy servant*[1]," and the parallels between the last Psalm of the Hallel sung at the Passover Table (Ps. cxviii.) and the "Hosanna to the God of David" which we find in the Teaching. The very words with which the last prayer of the service is introduced are based on Deut. viii. 10, as may be seen from the sentence in the Passover Service, "Thy *Name* shall be blessed by the mouth of every living thing...according as it is written 'After ye have eaten and *are filled.*'" Hence the Teaching immediately brings in the mention of the Holy Name[2].

and is similar in its eschatology to the Jewish Messianic expectations.

The last chapter of the Teaching is also Judaic in matter and manner: it seems to be based upon predictions of events which were to occur in the days preceding the advent of Messiah: and there are not a few Talmudic passages of similar structure to it. For example in the tract *Sota*[3] we are told that "in the last days (literally, in the heel of the Messiah) shamelessness[4] will be increased...The vine will put forth her fruit but nevertheless wine will be dear. The supreme power in the world will be overwhelmed with worthless opinions....Synagogues will be turned into houses of ill-fame, the borders of Judea will be laid waste, &c." The similarity of structure between this and the xvith chapter of the Teaching is apparent. Very nearly the same language is found in the tract *Sanhedrin*[5], which adds further that "the son of David will not come until traitors are multiplied." Compare this with the "false prophets and corrupters shall be multiplied" of the Teaching.

It is superfluous after so many instances of Hebraism in the matter of the Teaching to draw attention to those which occur in its style, and it is sufficient to remark that they are often patent even to the reader of an English translation of the Teaching, while to one who should attempt to translate the tract into Hebrew, they would be met at every point.

INTEGRITY OF THE TEACHING.

The two directions in which the integrity of the Teaching as a document has been chiefly brought under suspicion are as follows: (i.) It is suspected that the doctrine of the Two Ways is a separate document probably Jewish in origin, to which there has been appended in its Christian form the rules

[1] *Haggada Shel Pesach*, משיח בן דוד עבדך.

[2] There is therefore no need with Dr Taylor to refer to the *Chagigah*, or feast before Passover.

[3] *Sota* ix. 16.

[4] חוצפא. Is this the *ἀνομία* of the Teaching?

[5] *Sanhedrin* xi. 27, 28.

of baptism, love-feast and prophecy, together with the doctrine of the Last Things. This separates the first five chapters (Harnack adds a scrap of the sixth) from the rest of the book. (ii.) In these chapters there is one great interpolation (i. 3—ii. 1) which disturbs the continuity and is not found in a group of the earliest authorities for the Teaching.

The unity of the Teaching has been denied, and a large interpolation has been asserted,

Let us examine these points carefully. If the preceding investigations as to possible Jewish sources for the ideas and regulations of the Teaching be worth anything, they shew that the Jewish character of the book is just as marked in the middle as at the beginning, and just as marked at the end as in the middle. Every rule is capable of being tested in the Rabbinic manner by an underlying passage from the Old Testament, and the methods of exegesis are throughout of the fanciful character by which we learn to recognize the Jewish interpreter. That an apostle must not ask for money would of itself be inconclusive, for the Christian custom is originally even stronger than the Jewish on such a point: but the idea of giving him a piece of bread to suffice until he reach his next lodging is the very method of treatment for wandering mendicants which we find in the Talmud. That a prophet should not eat of his own love-feast was at first sight a precaution employed against persons who maintained themselves in luxury off the new communities; closer examination shews a precept in Ezekiel which forbids the shepherds any longer to feed themselves. No one but a Rabbi would have used the precept for the purpose to which the Teaching applies it. The Cosmic Mystery is an actual Jewish term. The description of the salvation from the Curse by the Curse, though it has largely coloured the whole of the early Christian theology, is so thoroughly Jewish that it furnishes one of the stock objections to Christianity on the part of the Jews in the shape of a demand to shew how the blessing comes by the way of the Curse. The Teaching, then, is Jewish all through: and not necessarily only in the "Two Ways" section. Further, the more closely we examine the early attestation of the Teaching the more difficult is it to restrict it to one part of the tract. Barnabas, at first glance, seemed only to use the first five chapters, but then it appeared that he had elsewhere quoted the sixteenth chapter and there were other suggestions of knowledge on his part outside of these limits.

but the Hebraistic character of the book is maintained throughout.

Early writers do not confine their quotations to the "Two Ways."

The epistle of Jude has been shewn to have knowledge of an Apostolic Teaching, and there are no grounds for assuming it to be any shorter than ours, since it must have contained the precepts in ii. 7 and the section on prophecy of c. xi.

Clement of Alexandria refers to the doctrine of the Two Ways and quotes the precepts of the decalogue in the dress which they wear in the Teaching, but then he has suspicious allusions to the blood of David's vine, which recall the ninth chapter of the Teaching, so that his text-book cannot be restricted to the Two Ways. And the same thing is true of a number of other writers.

It seems then most reasonable to assume the Teaching to be an integer. If it has a Jewish written original behind it, this may very well have covered the same ground as the Teaching (Ethics, Baptism of proselytes, Passover, Day of Atonement, Signs of Messiah), while the divergencies of the Teaching from the original document must have been more marked in one part than in another. This conclusion is not meant to exclude the idea that there were various recensions of the primitive Christian Teaching current, and that precepts might be omitted in some which were current in others.

The internal evidence for the interpolation can be got rid of,

The next point is the great interpolation (i. 3—ii. 1). This section is omitted by Barnabas, the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Latin Version and the *Syntagma Doctrinae*, and no doubt this omission can be strengthened by reference to such authorities as quote the precepts *οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις* directly after the Golden Rule. Thus the Clementine Homilies would be in evidence on the point, and perhaps some other writers. It is said further that the inserted passage breaks the continuity of the ideas: that it contains counsels of perfection rather than elementary discipline, and certainly these, if a part of the text, should be led up to through the minor morality. Omit the passage and we run smoothly enough; "of these words (i.e. the golden rule in a negative form) this is the Teaching. Thou shalt not murder, &c., &c."

It must be admitted that there is a great deal of force in these objections: we have almost a right to expect negative commandments in exposition of a negative precept. And if the commandments of the decalogue have prefixed to them the description "Second Commandment of the Teaching," the previous section being on the first commandment ought to have to do with God and not with man.

But I should like to suggest that these exceptions arise partly from a misunderstanding; the first and second commandments of the Teaching mean nothing more than the first and second Talmudic gloss to the same passage of expounded text. They both refer to the passage "Secondly thy neighbour as thyself, and what thou wouldst not, &c." This precept divides itself at once into a positive and a negative precept, and is accompanied by a group of (i.) positive precepts, (ii.) negative precepts. The separation of the two is thoroughly Talmudic. The apparent fall in the treatment of the subject would thus be a natural consequence of the precedence of the positive precepts over the negative. Viewed in this light, the continuity of the subject is restored.

but not so easily the external.

But what shall we say with regard to the silence of writers quoting the Teaching, but not this section? Here the argument for interpolation reaches its strength. We may perhaps say that arguments from silence are peculiarly treacherous in the case of writers who are obviously making extracts: we may point out the dependence of the Canons upon Barnabas

and so reduce the evidence: the evidence of the passage from the Clementine Homilies might be explained by shewing, as above, that the precepts quoted really belonged together in the mind of the writer of the Teaching. But then Barnabas and the Latin Version would still hold the field on the other side, and so, unless further evidence is forthcoming, it seems that the extract in question can hardly be a part of the first edition of the Teaching. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the ἔση τέλειος of the interpolator appears again in the passage which, of all others, bears the marks of having been re-written: viz. vi. 2.

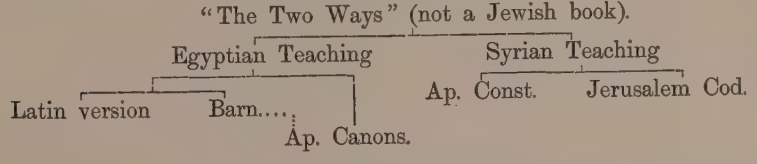
Genealogical relations of the authorities according to Funk,

Funk maintains the contrary, and regards all existing authorities as descendants of a single copy, three of them (Barnabas, the Latin, and the Canons) having an internal nexus by acquaintance on the part of two of them with the third (Barnabas).

Warfield,

Warfield and Harnack, proceeding on the ground of interpolation, proceed to recover the genealogical relations of the authorities for the text of the Teaching. Dr Warfield[1] presents two different recensions, one of which he calls the Egyptian version, the other the Syrian.

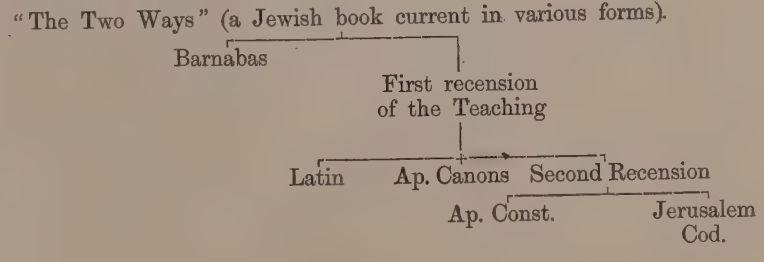
From the former proceed the texts of Barnabas, the Canons, and the Latin version. From the latter the text of the Constitutions and the Jerusalem Codex. This would be represented by



To which he has added something[2] by placing in the left-hand group the copy of the Teaching from which is derived the text of the *Syntagma Doctrinae* and of the *Faith of the Nicene Fathers*.

and Harnack,

Harnack's table is different: he gives



[1] *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1886; *Andover Review*, vi. 88.

[2] *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* for June, 1886, pp. 86...

In this scheme the parallelisms between Barnabas and the Latin and Canons are explained by an acquaintance on the part of Barnabas with the first recension of the Teaching[1]. But this is not sufficient: we have shewn that the Canons borrow from Barnabas outside the matter of the Teaching; in fact steal his proëm and his epilogue. The Harnack scheme must therefore be abandoned. As to Dr Warfield's I prefer to suspend my final judgment; it offers the best hypothesis in some respects that has yet been proposed and stands investigation well; but, as I said above, being based largely upon textual omissions, it invites suspicion, and in any case there is a safety in not going further into speculation than we are obliged. We must wait for further developments before we can with a sufficient degree of assurance assert the correctness of Dr Warfield's genealogy. We may, however, before long find it fully confirmed. As to the terms "Egyptian" and "Syrian" which Warfield applies to his two recensions, they are not to be taken too literally. They open up the very interesting question of the geographical distribution of the attestation to the Teaching. If my statement with regard to the use of the Teaching by Jude be correct, we have an addition to Dr Warfield's theory. Jude is first known amongst the Fathers in Alexandria (excepting only the note in the Muratorian Canon) and always best known there, and it is interesting that the Teaching which he used contained the passage *οὗς δὲ ἐλέγξεις, οὗς δὲ ἐλεήσεις* as in the Apost. Canons. This is perfectly consistent and puts Jude's Teaching under Warfield's Egyptian branch.

of which Warfield's stands criticism best.

The geographical distribution of the Teaching cannot, however, easily be restricted to one or two countries, nor does Dr Warfield intend to do so. The book is current in the second century in Rome, Ephesus, Corinth, Alexandria, and indeed it is more wide-spread than almost any other early document that can be compared with it.

Chronological and geographical distribution of the attestation to the Teaching.

The following table will furnish a conspectus of the evidence on this point (no allowance being made for mere speculations).

	Cent.	Place.	Acquainted with
Ascensio Isaiae	end of i.		c. xvi.
Jude	end of i. ?	Alexandria ?	c. ii., c. xi., c. xvi.
Barnabas	saec. ii.	Alexandria	c. i.—v., c. x.?, c. xi.?, c. xvi.
Hermas	saec. ii.	Rome	c. i., c. iv., c. v.
Justin	saec. ii.	Ephesus	c. i—v., c. xi., c. xvi.
2 Clem.	saec. ii.	Corinth	c. i., c. iii., c. v., c. vi., c. ix.

[1] *Die Apostellehre*, p. 32, note.

IS THE TEACHING MONTANISTIC?

The Teaching has been diligently searched for heresy and for orthodoxy; the only plausible charge being that of Montanism,

Harnack records with much amusement the various attempts which have been made to identify the writer of the Teaching with the exponents or opponents of some special heresy of the Early Church. Judging from the variety of opinions which he is reckoned to represent, he must have been a universal-heretic if we may imitate the language of the Teaching: but then for every writer who has proved him Ebionitic or Montanistic or the like, there is another who has demonstrated his perfect orthodoxy and his opponency of the very same views. So that the writer must have been also a universal-orthodox. The only case that calls for the least examination is the supposed Montanism of our recension of the Teaching, which Hilgenfeld contends for and which Bryennios holds the writer to oppose.

It is hardly fair to cut the knot of such a conflict by asserting roundly the earlier date of the Teaching, especially since we have seen that there is some ground for believing our form of the Teaching to be the second recension of the original document. And indeed if we adopted this method we should miss the great advantage of observing the relations between the Montanistic churches and the earlier societies.

Hilgenfeld's view involves the re-handling of the original Teaching for Montanistic ends: the prophets of the Teaching are thus the Montanistic illuminati; the eschatology is the well-known chiliasm of the Phrygian churches. But we have shewn that the doctrine of prophecy is based immediately upon Jewish views, and can be illustrated from Jewish sources, and that similar statements can be made with regard to the doctrine of the Last Things. So that any parallels between the Teaching and Montanism are more valid for the demonstration of the antiquity of the latter than for the corruption of the former for private ends. And indeed this is what comes out of the investigation, a verification or at least a strong confirmation of the theory which maintains that the discipline and the doctrine of the early Church were conserved amongst the Montanists. In a sense we may say that Hilgenfeld and Bryennios were both right. Nor must we be altogether surprised even if exactly opposite views are capable of maintenance with regard to detailed points in the Teaching. For the truth is that the Teaching often speaks in two voices, and this is a mark of its Jewish origin. Given two texts in the Old Testament which are of an opposite tenor on any given subject, we have to reconcile them, or to assert them both: as, for instance, in the case quoted on p. 99 with regard to the confession of the sin and the two apparently opposite verses, "He that covereth his sin &c.," "Blessed is the man whose transgression is forgiven and whose sin is covered." So in the Teaching we have the two rules that a prophet must not feed himself off the flock, and that the flock is to bring him first-fruits of everything. The contradiction may of course be

diminished by shewing that the prophet receives these things as the almoner of the community, but it cannot be wholly got rid of. And while it exists, it will be easy to maintain that the Teaching is Montanistic or anti-Montanistic on the subject of gifts to the prophets, according as we lay stress on one point or the other of the opposition in the text.

but this arises from the close relation of Montanism to the primitive Church.

Return, however, to the question of the existence of prophecy, which is antecedent to that of payment or non-payment. I see that Professor Funk[1] admits that if the Teaching was not written before the middle of the second century then what is there said with regard to Apostles, Prophets and Teachers *must be referred to the Montanists.* It follows without any difficulty that if the Teaching existed at an earlier date than Montanism, then the orders which are found in the organisation of Montanism must be capable of reference by parallelism to the discipline of the primitive communities. And in fact the New Testament, read in the light of the Teaching, says this very thing: it comes down to meet Montanism by shewing the sense that is to be attached to the primitive apostolate and prophetic order, and their non-limitation to a circle of twelve persons for the one office or to an occasional ecstatic for the other. We are, therefore, able to make the parallel complete from the critical side of the subject, while leaving its ecclesiastical interpretation to those who may be most interested therein: the evidence for the identification is as follows:

Church at Antioch.	*Church at Corinth.*	*Church at Ephesus.*
Acts xiii. 1.	1 Cor. xii. 28.	Eph. iv. 11, cf. ii. 20, iii. 5.
	Apostles	Apostles
Prophets	Prophets	Prophets
Teachers	Teachers	Evangelists
	Powers	Pastors and Teachers
	Gifts of Healing	
	&c.	

Church of the Teaching.	*Churches of the Montanists*[2].
Apostles	Patriarchs (= Apostles)
Prophets	Cenones (*κοινωνοι*) (= Prophets)
Bishops	Bishops
	Presbyters
Deacons	Deacons

[1] *Doctrina*, p. xl.

[2] *Corp. Jur. Civ.* i. 5. 20, *τῶν καλουμένων αὐτῶν πατριαρχῶν καὶ κοινωνῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων ἢ διακόνων ἢ ἄλλων κληρικῶν.*

Hier. ep. 41 *ad Marcellum.* "Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus est tertius. Habent enim primos de Pepuza Phrygiae patriarchas, secundos quos appellant cenones, atque ita in tertium id est pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur."

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE TEACHING.

Title. The compiler of Ap. Const. vii. seems to have had the long title in his copy: cf. c. 27 *ἄλλην διδαχὴν κηρύσσῃ παρ' ἣν ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν ὁ Χριστὸς δι' ἡμῶν.* It was, perhaps, known to the writer of the so-called 2 ep. of Clement and to Ps.-Ignatius who wrote the epistle to the Antiochenes: for both of these writers make remarks about the Gentiles in connexion with the sentiments found in the early part of the Teaching: see pp. 35, 49.

The author of the *Ascensio Isaiae* uses the shorter title, but this does not prove anything against the longer.

Prof. Warfield thinks the *δώδεκα* an insertion, chiefly on account of its omission in the Latin and some Patristic allusions. And it is certain that the writer did not confine the term Apostle to the Twelve. But on the other hand note that the *Ascensio Isaiae* has the "twelve."

The doctrine of the Two Ways appears in its Scriptural form, "life and death": see Deut. xxx. 15 and Targum in loc.: Jer. xxi. 8; Matt. vii. 13, &c. But the ethical opposition must have existed in numerous forms, and goes back on the Greek side to Pythagoras.

These various forms are responsible for having influenced the recensions of the Teaching; and when we find that the later Pythagoreans established the following syzygies in their treatment of the first principles of philosophy,

Limit	— Unlimited	Right	— Left	Light	— Darkness
Odd	— Even	Quiet	— Moving	Good	— Evil
One	— Many	Straight	— Curved	Square	— Oblong

See Aristotle, *Ethics.*

we may suspect that the change made in Barnabas to the way of light and the way of darkness, as well as his description of the way of death as crooked, is a quasi-philosophical correction.

The Pythagoreans, following their master, illustrated their doctrine of Two Ways by the letter γ: but then we must make a correction to the form of the letter, which in archaic Greek would consist of a single vertical line from which the second limb diverges on the left in a curved line. Thus the division into "straight" and "crooked" is earlier than that into "right" and "left." From the fact that our Lord used the same word *ἀπάγουσα* for both roads, we may infer that his teaching is based on the later form of the γ. When Barnabas speaks of the left-hand road as *σκολιὰ* we have a touch of antiquity which is much more forcible than the *πονηρὰ* of the Teaching: but then it must be noted that the latter part of the Teaching is based on an opposition between "right" and "left" which seems to result from holding the doctrine of the Two Ways as illustrated by

the later form of the γ. Lactantius finds fault with the γ doctrine as not being sufficiently opposed in its two parts. The difference between the Two Ways did not seem to him to be great enough: the moral angle between them was wider, so to speak, than the acute angle of the letter by which they were denoted. The passage is an interesting one inasmuch as Lactantius collects therein a number of ethical antitheses which were current for the Two Ways, as east and west, virtue and vice, light and darkness, truth and lying, life and death, and implies that an appointed guide stands over each path[1].

i. 2. There is a memory of the Teaching in Caspari *Anecdota* i. 197. The passage is taken from a homily to the baptized and is found in a Montpelier MS. It says that our Lord taught his disciples to warn men "ut recederent a vitiis diaboli id est ab homicidio a furto a perjurio a fornicatione ab ebrietate et ab omni vitio malo, et quod sibi non velint, alii non faciant."

i. 4. Harnack has pointed out that the order of the Gospel sentences here is the same as in the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. And such a coincidence can hardly be accidental. If the text of the Teaching is uninterpolated this furnishes a *terminus ad quem* for the Teaching: unfortunately the coincidence occurs precisely at the point where interpolation is suspected: and if that supposition can be verified we have either a *terminus ad quem* for the revised Teaching or a *terminus a quo* for the date of the interpolator.

The negative form of the Golden Rule is found in Tobit, Philo, &c., it is referred by the Jews to Hillel: for other references see Funk's note in loc. The most important Christian instance of its use is its insertion after Acts xv. 20 and 29 by Codex Bezae and 11 cursives with the Thebaic and Ethiopic versions, and the support of Irenaeus and Cyprian.

The motive for the insertion is evident; the letter sent by the Apostles was in effect a part of their authorised Teaching, and nothing was more inviting than to insert with the other dogmata the most striking sentence which was supposed to emanate from them. The use of ἕτερος for ἄλλος has already been suggested (see p. 79) as a possible earlier form, substituted for ἑταίρῳ.

i. 5. *οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι*] For according to *Kethuvoth* 68 a, "He that receiveth alms without needing the same shall come to want before he dies."

A comparison with Matt. v. 25 shews that we must translate "and

[1] Lact. *Divin. Institt.* vi. 3, "Forma quoque ipsarum viarum non ita est, ut illi putaverunt. Quid enim opus est γ littera in rebus contrariis atque diversis? Sed altera illa melior conversa est ad solis ortum, altera illa deterior, ad occasum: quoniam qui veritatem ac justitiam sequitur, is, accepto immortalitatis praemio, perenni luce potietur: qui autem ab illo malo duce illectus praetulerit vitia virtutibus, mendacium veritati, necesse est ad occasum et tenebras deferatur."

when he is in prison he shall be examined, &c." But one is tempted to believe that it may have originally stood, before the Christian gloss was added, "and when he is *in want* he shall be questioned concerning his deeds." Rabbi Judah the Holy transferred the Woe of the receiver to himself: "Woe is me, said he, I have given my bread to one of the vulgar[1]."

iii. 2. *μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος*] Cf. Tert. *De Orat.* xi., "Quomodo placabit patrem iratus in fratrem cum omnis ira ab initio interdicta sit nobis? Nam et Joseph dimittens fratres suos ad perducandum patrem, Et ne, inquit, irascimini in via; nos scilicet monuit. Alias enim via cognominatur disciplina nostra."

iii. 3. It is noticeable that the apostle in 1 Cor. x. 6—11 follows closely the sentiments given here: *εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι...μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε...μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν...μηδὲ γογγύζετε...*

iii. 10. Cf. *Berachoth* f. 60 b, "whatever is done by the merciful is for good": and *Sirach* ii. 4, *πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι δέξαι.*

iv. 1. Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* iv. 17. "Let the fear of thy Rabbi be as the fear of Heaven."

2. Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* i. 4. "Powder thyself in the dust of the wise and drink their words with thirstiness."

iv. 8. *οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι*] Cf. *Pirqe Avoth* v. 16. "There are four characters in men: he that saith, mine is mine and thine is thine, is an indifferent character: but some say, it is the character of Sodom: he that saith, mine is thine and thine is mine, is 'am-ha-areç': mine and thine are thine, pious: thine and mine are mine, wicked."

Cf. also Evagrius Ponticus (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* xl. 1283). "Ne dicas, meum hoc, et tuum illud, in Christo enim Jesu omnia communia."

iv. 10. *τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν*] Cf. Lactantius *Epit.* 64. "Non sit asper in filium neque in servum: meminerit quod et ipse patrem habet et dominum."

iv. 14. *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*] The public confession of sin is a Jewish doctrine and practice, with a single reservation. Sins between man and man are confessed publicly: sins between man and God are not to be confessed. The reason of this lies in the fact that two contrary verses on the subject were adduced from the Scripture: one Prov. xxviii. 13, "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper"; the other Ps. xxxii. 1, "Blessed is the man whose sin is covered." Naturally these texts came to the front early in connexion with the day of atonement (or *covering*). Hence in the Mishna, *Yoma* c. 8, "Rab Zutra the son of Tobias said, The latter refers to transgressions between man and God; and the other relates to transgressions between man and his fellow," and Maimonides[2] expands the sentiment as follows: "It is also very commendable in the penitent to confess before a multitude of persons

[1] T. B. *Bava Bathra*, f. 8 a.

[2] *Yad hachazakah, Hilkoth Teschuva* 2.

and to make known before them his transgression, also to reveal to others the offences between himself and his fellow: for it is said &c. (Prov. xxviii. 13), but with regard to transgressions between man and God, he ought not to render himself notorious...for it is said &c. (Ps. xxxii. 1)."

καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ] Cf. *Berachoth* c. 5, "they will not rise to pray except with a mind at rest," and 2 Clem. xvi. *προσευχὴ δὲ ἐκ καλῆς συνειδήσεως ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται.*

vi. 3. *ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου*] The question of the lawfulness of idol-meats was a burning one both in Jewish and Christian circles. For the former note that Rabbi Akiba[1] maintained that meat which was about to be brought into heathen worship was lawful, but that which comes from it is forbidden because it is like the *sacrifices of the dead*[2]. Amongst the Christians it was one of the early dividing lines between party and party, as we see from Justin and still more from Apoc. ii. 14, where those persons are attacked who have what is called the *διδαχὴ Βαλαάμ* and who teach people to *eat meat offered to idols.* Was this a book or merely a doctrine[3]?

vii. 4. This rule probably suggested Tertullian's statement that even Cornelius who was so suddenly received into fellowship had fasted before his baptism. "Granted that upon the centurion Cornelius, even before baptism, the honourable gift of the Holy Ghost, together with the gift of prophecy besides, had hastened to descend, we see that his *fasts* had been heard."

viii. 1. Opposition to the details of surrounding religions is a noticeable feature of Eastern religious movements. Sale in his preface to the Koran, § 4, notes as follows: "Al Kazwîni relates that when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashûra (=day of atonement) he asked them the reason of it: and they told him it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses and those who were with him escaping: whereupon he said that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However it seems afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein: and therefore declared that, if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, *abhorring so near an agreement with them.*" And Bosworth Smith thinks that it was

[1] *Avoda Sara*, ii. 3.

[2] Ps. cvi. 28.

[3] The subject certainly suggests something like a book: but there is a salutary warning given by Stieren, in a note on the first Pfaff fragment of Irenaeus, which I am not deterred from repeating by the thought that I may have sinned against it myself. "Nec enim eam in opinionem descendimus quod ubicunque apud veteres *διδασκαλία ἀποστολική, τάξις, διατάξεις, διαταγαί, διατάγματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐντολαί, προστάγματα, παράδοσις, παραδόσεις ἀποστολικαί, διατάξεις εὐαγγελικαί, παράδοσις εὐαγγελική, εὐαγγελικὸν κήρυγμα, κήρυγμα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐκκλησιαστικὴ διδασκαλία, κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, κανὼν τῆς πίστεως, κανὼν τῆς λειτουργίας, νόμιμα τοῦ δεσπότου, παραγγέλματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, διδαχαί* et quae alia sunt, memorentur, certi quidam libri sunt intelligendi ad quos respiciatur."

a similar antagonism that led Mohammed to forbid the use of wine, because it was a sacred *Christian* symbol.

The terms "they fast on the second and fifth days" are the exact equivalent of בשני וחמשי of the Mishna (*Taanith* ii. 9).

The early Fathers deduce the authority of the weekly fasts from the words of our Lord: "Days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from them...then shall they fast in those days," viz. the day of the betrayal and the day of the crucifixion. Cf. Epiphanius and Tertullian *De Abst.* 2. Wednesday and Friday are joy-days with the Rabbis, since they appoint the first for the wedding-day of virgins, the second for that of widows.

viii. 3. The Jews prove the threefold prayer by an acrostic use of the Shema: thus

שאו מרום עיניכם
שדי מלך עליון
שחרית מנחה ערבית

Bingham remarks (*Antiq.* i. 661): "Cyprian indeed recommends these hours of prayer, but he does not as much as once suggest that the Church had then by any rule made these the stated hours of public devotion"! It is true that the Teaching does not specify the hours; probably there was already when the Teaching was written a traditional sanctity attached to the third, sixth and ninth hours. Tertullian almost says as much in *De Abstinentia* c. 8, "The third hour is demonstrated as an hour of prayer, about which hour it was that they who had received the initiatory gift of the Holy Spirit were held for drunkards, and the sixth at which Peter went up on the roof: the ninth at which he entered the temple: why should we not understand that with absolutely perfect indifference we must pray always everywhere and at every time? Yet still these three hours, as being more marked in things human, which divide the day, which distinguish businesses, which re-echo the public ear, have likewise *ever been of special solemnity* in divine prayers."

ix. 2. We shall shew under xi. 9 that the writer of the Teaching formulates a rule based on Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 8. There are traces of the use of this chapter in the thanksgiving of the Agape. "My servant David" is an expression for the Messiah in this chapter, and should be compared with "the holy vine of David thy servant." As to the holy vine itself that is the "plant of renown" mentioned at the close of the chapter; the connexion made by early Christian commentators may be seen by Theodoret's note on this passage: Ἀναστήσω αὐτοῖς φυτὸν εἰρήνης εἰς ὄνομα. τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας λέγει, Ἐξελεύσεται ῥάβδος ἐκ τῆς

ῥίζης Ἰεσσαὶ καὶ ἄνθος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης ἀναβήσεται καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ...τοῦτο ἑρμηνεύων ὁ κύριος ἔφη, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινὴ κτέ.

ix. 4. Here again we have an oblique reference to Ezekiel, according to whom the Lord's sheep have been scattered "on every mountain," *ἐν παντὶ ὄρει*, and on every high hill; and a promise is given that they shall be gathered together again under one Shepherd. This is the basis of the words "gathered together from the ends of the earth" in the Teaching. And one is inclined to believe that the original form of the prayer must have been, "As thy sheep were scattered on the mountains, so may they be gathered from the ends of the earth." A happy change would then have given us the most beautiful sentence in the Teaching, only I still think, in spite of Dr Taylor's reference to the "spread of corn in the top of the mountains" that "bread scattered on the mountains" is a little harsh.

ix. 5. *μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω*] corresponds exactly to the Levitical regulation that no person must eat of the passover except the circumcised.

τοῖς κυσί] Cf. Tert. *de praescr. haer.* c. xli. "Also the heathen, if they come in, they will cast that which is holy to the dogs." The interpretation must have lingered long in the Church, however unnatural it may be; there is a curious catacomb epitaph on one Tharsicius who was martyred while running off with the elements of the eucharist;

> "Ipse animam potius voluit dimittere caesus
> Prodere quam *canibus rabidis caelestia* membra."

v. 2. Cf. Psalms of Solomon, vii. 5, *ἐν τῷ κατασκηνοῦν τὸ ὄνομα ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν ἐλεηθησόμεθα.*

x. 6. *τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ*] It has been already stated that there is no reason for deserting the text of the MS. *τῶ θεῷ Δαβίδ*. To vindicate it, it is only necessary to shew that it is not a *lapsus calami*. And this will be apparent when we shew that Barnabas defends the doxology as we have it in the Teaching. They evidently derive their reasoning from the verse "If David call him Lord, how is he his Son?" and from similar passages in which the word *κύριος* is used in the Old Testament of Christ, *κύριος* being regarded as the equivalent of *θεός*. Thus Barnabas says c. xii. "When they are about to say that Christ is the Son of David, David himself prophesies in fear and in understanding of the error of the sinners, 'The Lord said unto my Lord, &c.'—Ye see how David calls him *Lord, and does not call him Son.*" We must not of course assume that there is any direct reference to the doxology in the Teaching, but we may be almost sure that if Barnabas had a copy of the Teaching the text would have stood as it does in the Jerusalem Codex.

For similar reasoning see Justin, *Dial.* 83.

x. 6, 7. *Ὡσαννὰ...Ἀμήν*] Plumptre makes the following remark in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities:* "The agreement of the four great families of liturgies implies the substratum of a common order. To that order may well have belonged the Hebrew words Hallelujah, Amen, Hosanna, Lord of Sabaoth." An interesting prediction when viewed in the light of the Teaching.

The Hallelujah was suggested by the singing of the so-called Hallel-Psalms at the Passover. For the eucharistic *Amen* cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 16, *πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ*; but it was not confined among the Jews to the Passover service, nor amongst the Christians to the Agape. The Rabbis declared that the reward of him that said the Amen was greater than that of him that recited the prayer.

The Hosanna of the primitive service is taken directly from the cxviiith Psalm, which was sung at the Passover Table. For Lord of Sabaoth we have *δέσποτα παντόκρατορ* in c. x. 3. For this is the common rendering of the Hebraism in the text of the LXX.

xi. 3. The Greek Church preserves the memory of this extended apostolate by adding in the Menology the title of apostle to nearly every sub-apostolic name in the New Testament.

xi. 6. Cf. T. B. *Bava Bathra* 9 a. "A poor man who is tramping from place to place is to be supplied with a loaf of a pundion (in value) when four measures of wheat are to be had for a shekel": and 2 Cor. vi. 10 *ὡς πτωχοί, πολλοὺς δὲ πλουτίζοντες*. The rule in the text is probably proved from Is. i. 23, part of which is quoted in the table of sins: at all events this is what Justin uses to prove it by. *Dial.* 82, "We are eager to discourse on the Scriptures but not from love of money or praise or pleasure. We stand convicted on none of these heads. We would not live as your rulers whom God reproaches in Isaiah i. 23."

xi. Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 82. "Even to the present time there are amongst us prophetic charismata: from which fact even you ought to understand that what anciently existed among your people has been transferred to ours."

xi. 9. *οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς*] Dr Taylor notes that "the history of the Agape throws light...upon the imperfectly understood passage of 2 Pet. ii. 13." The passage referred to is as follows: "Spots and blemishes are they, revelling in THEIR love-feasts (read *ἀγάπαις* not *ἀπάταις*), feasting themselves along with you," which they ought not to do, the love-feast being of their own appointing. The passage which corresponds to this in Jude is in one respect not so striking, inasmuch as it has omitted the difficult "their" before "love-feasts." Hence Dr Taylor thinks "2 Peter has every appearance of priority." The text of Jude has in some copies been changed from *ὑμῶν* to *αὐτῶν*; but we must not make too much of this, for if Jude has apparently dropped something, he has also added words which throw light on the subject, "feeding *themselves* fearlessly."

Now this word "themselves" is just as important as the word "their" in 2 Pet., for it indicates the point of the offence. And it does more than this: it indicates the origin of the prohibition, namely the well-known 34th chapter in Ezekiel[1]. The shepherds are feeding themselves when they ought to be feeding the flock. Every rule in the Teaching is based on some Old Testament prohibition. We must not assume a necessary acquaintance on the part of either 2 Peter or Jude with our Teaching: for (1) the rule might be an oral one, (2) it might be, and probably was, a Jewish regulation as well as a Christian one. But let it stand for a suspicion and see whether we can put another suspicion with it. It has been pointed out that the words *οὓς δὲ ἐλεήσεις* are added in the Apostolical Canons after *οὓς δὲ ἐλέγξεις* in c. ii. 7 of the Teaching: and the words would so easily have been omitted by a transcriber, that they might more easily have fallen out than have been inserted. Funk accordingly adds them in brackets and notes the reference to Jude; but he does not note that there are MSS. of Jude which read *οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε διακρινομένους, οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες*. How did these two ideas come here in this conjunction, running so parallel to the Teaching? Are the words *οὓς μὲν ἐλέγχετε* only a scribe's addition from the Teaching? but in that case we have manuscripts of Jude quoting the Teaching while at the same time manuscripts of the Canons, which is much the same as saying the Teaching, are quoting Jude. This is, to say the least, unlikely, and when we recall the fact that Jude dwells upon a rule which is certainly found in the Teaching concerning prophets who feed themselves, is there any solution more natural than to suppose that the MSS. referred to have preserved the correct reading in Jude, that the epistle of Jude is quoting the Teaching in a recension which contained chapters ii. and xi. of our form, or at least very similar matter[2]? And is not this view supported by the 17th verse in which Jude bids his readers remember the words which were spoken aforetime by the *Apostles* of the Lord; how they said that in *the last time*, &c.? The Teaching which Jude employed was then a Teaching of the Apostles and contained matter corresponding to our chapters ii. xi. and xvi. This conclusion helps to raise the date of the Teaching and even more to depress the date of Jude. The earliest quotations of the epistle of

[1] Plumptre's note on this is near the solution, though not literal enough. "These teachers .....came in like the false shepherds of Ezek. xxxiv. to feed themselves, i.e. to indulge their own lusts *in defiance of authority*." But the authority was not, as he suggested, the authority of the true pastors of the Church, but a modest treatise on the Christian religion.

[2] Dr Hort prints the text of Codex B in his Greek Testament *καὶ οὓς μὲν ἐλεᾶτε διακρινομένους σώζετε ἐκ πυρὸς ἁρπάζοντες, οὓς δὲ ἐλεᾶτε ἐν φόβῳ*. His note on the passage is felicitous in the suspicion that there is a primitive corruption in the text, and that the weak spot is in the first *ἐλεᾶτε* of the passage as given by ℵ and B. But his criticism on the *ἐλέγχετε* which is found in A C* 13 Vulg. Memph. Arm. Aeth. is unfortunate. "The smooth reading of A and C has every appearance of being a correction to the difficult double *ἐλεᾶτε* of ℵ and B."

Jude are African and Alexandrian, which should be noted as regards the Teaching. That the epistle should have copied the Teaching is not surprising when we remember that it uses freely both the book of Enoch and the Ascension of Moses.

xi. 10. *ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ*] A curious illustration of these points will be found in the respect still paid in the East to wandering religionists. An English writer upon Russia notes as follows: "These (eremites) they take as prophets and men of great holiness, giving them *a liberty to speak what they list without any controlment*.....and if any of them take some piece of sale-ware from any man's shop as he passeth by, *to give where he list*, he thinketh himself much beloved of God, and much beholden to the holy man for taking it in that sort." Fletcher, *Russian Commonwealths*, p. 119, quoted in Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 439.

xii. 3. *τεχνίτης ὢν*] It is well known that every Jewish Rabbi learned a trade. The Midrash on Eccles. ix. 9 paraphrases as follows, "Behold thy life with the wife whom thou lovest; i.e. look out for a trade along with the Divine study that thou lovest."

xii. 5. *χριστέμπορος*] It should be pointed out that this word is introduced as a contrast to *Χριστιανός*: that no idle person may live with you as a *Christian*, "and if he will not do this, he is a *Christmonger*." Hence we may quote Ps.-Ignat. *ad Trall.* c. 6, *εἰσὶ γάρ τινες.....οὐ Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι*, with some confidence that the writer was acquainted with the Teaching.

xiii. 5. *ἐὰν σιτίαν ποιῇς κτέ.*] Cf. Philo ii. 233, *κελεύει γὰρ τοὺς σιτοποιοῦντας ἀπὸ παντὸς στέατός τε καὶ φυράματος ἄρτον ἀφαιρεῖν ἀπαρχὴν εἰς ἱερέων χρῆσιν προνοούμενος ἅμα καὶ τῆς εἰς εὐσέβειαν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ νομίμῳ διδασκαλίᾳ. δεύτερον δὲ προστάττει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης κτήσεως ἀπάρχεσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην μὲν ληνὸν οἶνον καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἅλωνα σῖτόν τε καὶ κριθήν· ὁμοίως δὲ ἐξ ἐλαιῶν ἔλαιον κτέ.*

Id. ii. 234. *ὡς γοῦν ἡγεμόσι φόρους ἀπὸ παντὸς μέρους κτήσεως δίδοσθαι κελεύει.*

κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν] Cf. Sir. xxix. 9, *χάριν ἐντολῆς ἀντιλαβοῦ πένητος.*

xiv. 1. Dr Taylor connects this *κυριακὴ κυρίου* "Lord's lord's-day" with *σάββατον κυρίου* of the Old Testament.

This would imply that a substitute had been found for the Sabbath as well as for the weekly fasts by the law of antagonism. And there is some evidence to point this way. But I am inclined to suspect that the matter is not quite so simple, and that the genesis of the *κυριακὴ* is in another direction.

We have abundant evidence in the Teaching and in the Scripture to shew the link between the Passover and the Agape. What has become of

another Jewish service which surpasses this in solemnity? did the early Christians drop the Day of Atonement at once on grounds indicated in the epistle to the Hebrews? or did it linger as an annual solemnity amongst those Christians who stood nearest to the earlier belief? And even if it was at once discarded as a Christian fast on the ground that Christ had once suffered, was there nothing put in its place? It seems to me that there are some things which seem to suggest that the memory of the Day of Atonement survives in the *κυριακή* of the Teaching and the Apocalypse.

In the first place note that in Apoc. i. 10 our Lord appears in the high-priestly dress (*ποδήρης*) which as well as the language concerning redemption "through his own blood" suggests the Day of Atonement. Barnabas c. vii. confirms this when, in allegorizing on the Day of Atonement and the two goats, he says "They shall see him in that day wearing the *ποδήρης*." We may therefore render the passage in the Apocalypse "I was in the Spirit on the day of atonement" without doing violence to the sense. If some would prefer to see in the words a reference to the day of judgment, even this is not excluded by our interpretation, since the Day of Atonement is a rehearsal of the day of judgment and is so called by the Jews. Its name in the Talmud is simply Yoma, "The Day" of the year as distinguished from all other days: and it is counted as a great sabbath.

Now the principal feature of the Day of Atonement beyond the sacrifices and prayers is the necessity of personal reconciliation between man and man: without this the Day of Atonement does not atone[1]. And this is precisely what is so emphatically required in the Teaching, "Let no man who has a controversy with his fellow meet with you, until they be reconciled."

The injunction to meet and break bread is perhaps an antagonistic development, on the principle of not fasting with the hypocrites; for Yom Kippur is the most solemn fast of the Jewish year.

While I would not go so far, then, as to maintain positively that *κυριακὴ κυρίου* in the Teaching stands for the Day of Atonement, it seems to me that there is much in the latter that throws light on the former.

xiv. 2. The sacrifice here spoken of is prayer: so expressly Ps.-Cypr. *de aleat.*, "Ne impediatur oratio vestra," which is a quotation either from our Teaching or a similar one: and Tertullian *Apol.* 30, "that costly and noble sacrifice of prayer," also *adv. Marcionem* iv. 1 with especial reference to Malachi i. 11: "Quoniam a solis ortu usque ad occasum glori-

[1] "Transgression between man and his fellow the Day of Atonement did not expiate, until his fellow be reconciled." Mishna, *Yoma*, viii. 9.

ficatum est in nationibus nomen meum et in omni loco sacrificium nomine meo offertur et sacrificium mundum scilicet simplex oratio de conscientia pura."

xvi. 8. *ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν*] Cf. Justin *Dial.* 120, *ἐλήλυθε τοιγαροῦν ὡς καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἐπεδείξαμεν, καὶ προσδοκᾶται πάλιν παρέσεσθαι ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν Ἰησοῦς.*

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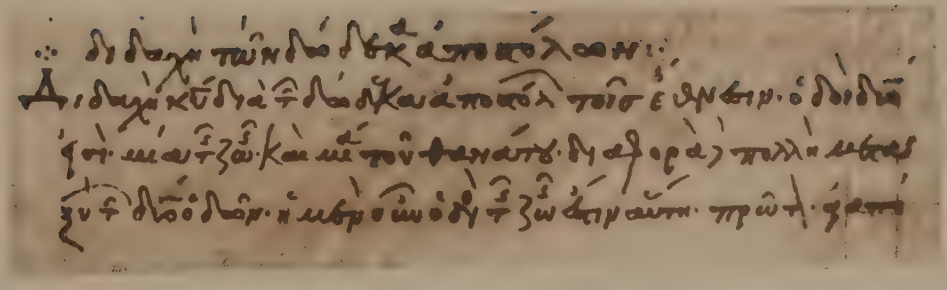

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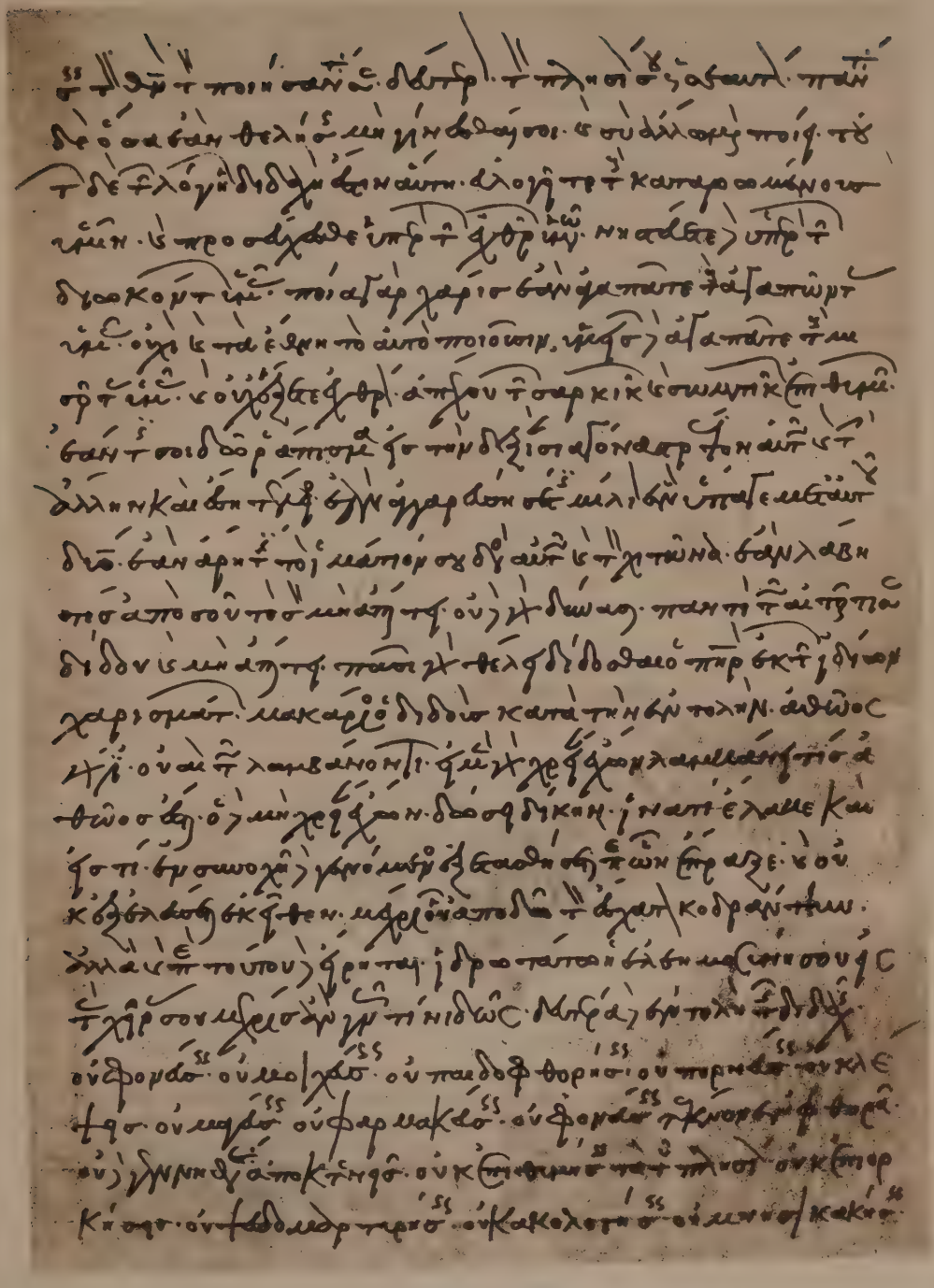

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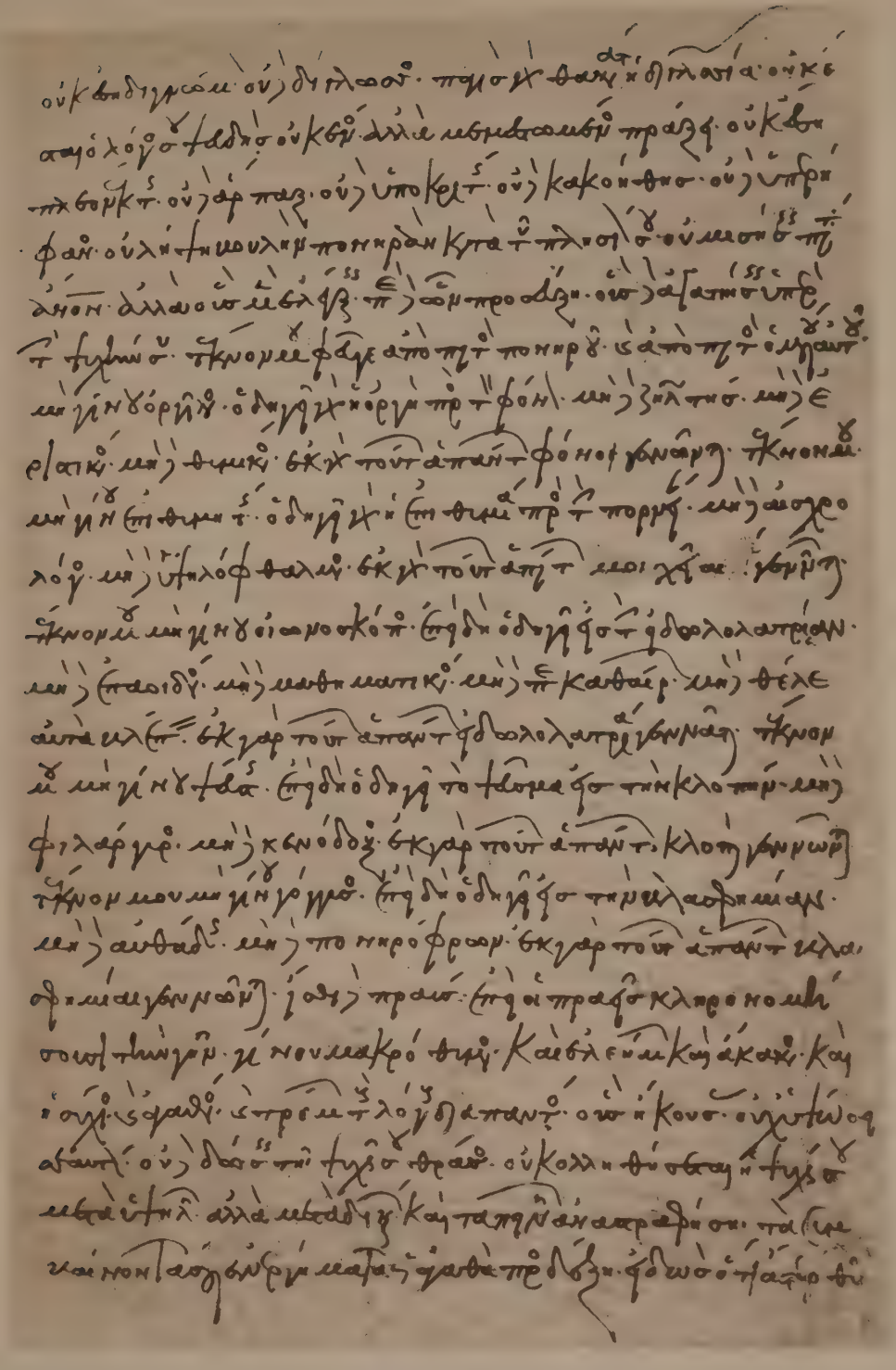

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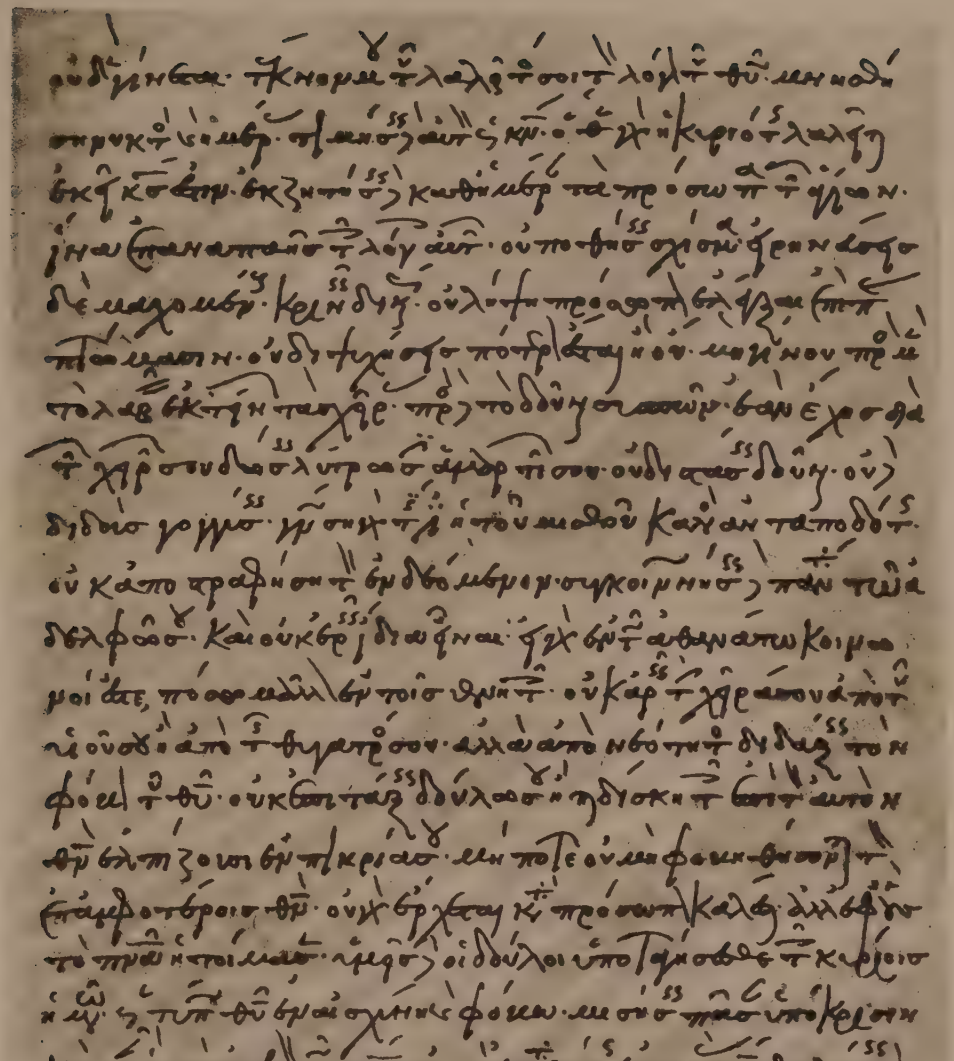

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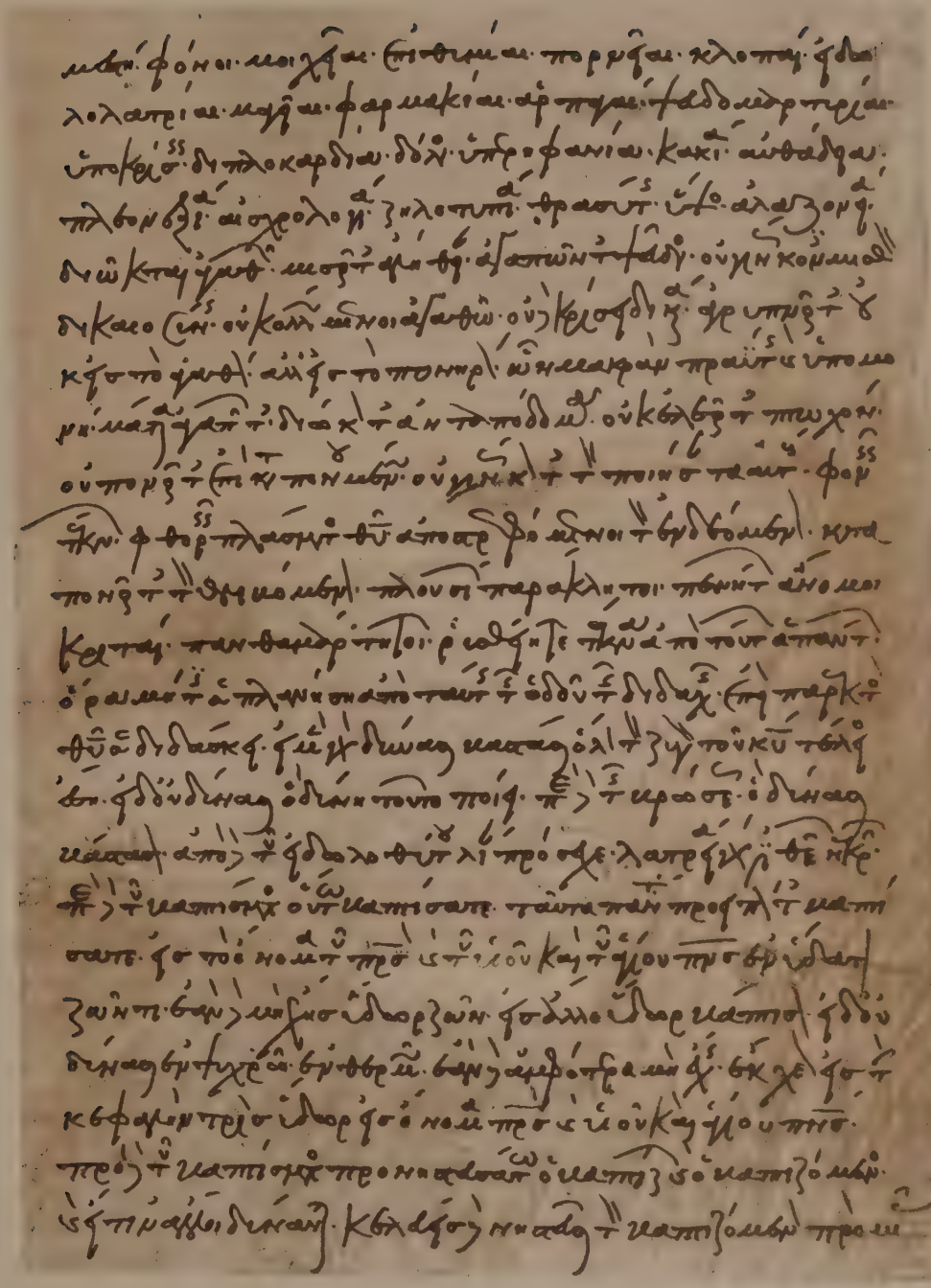

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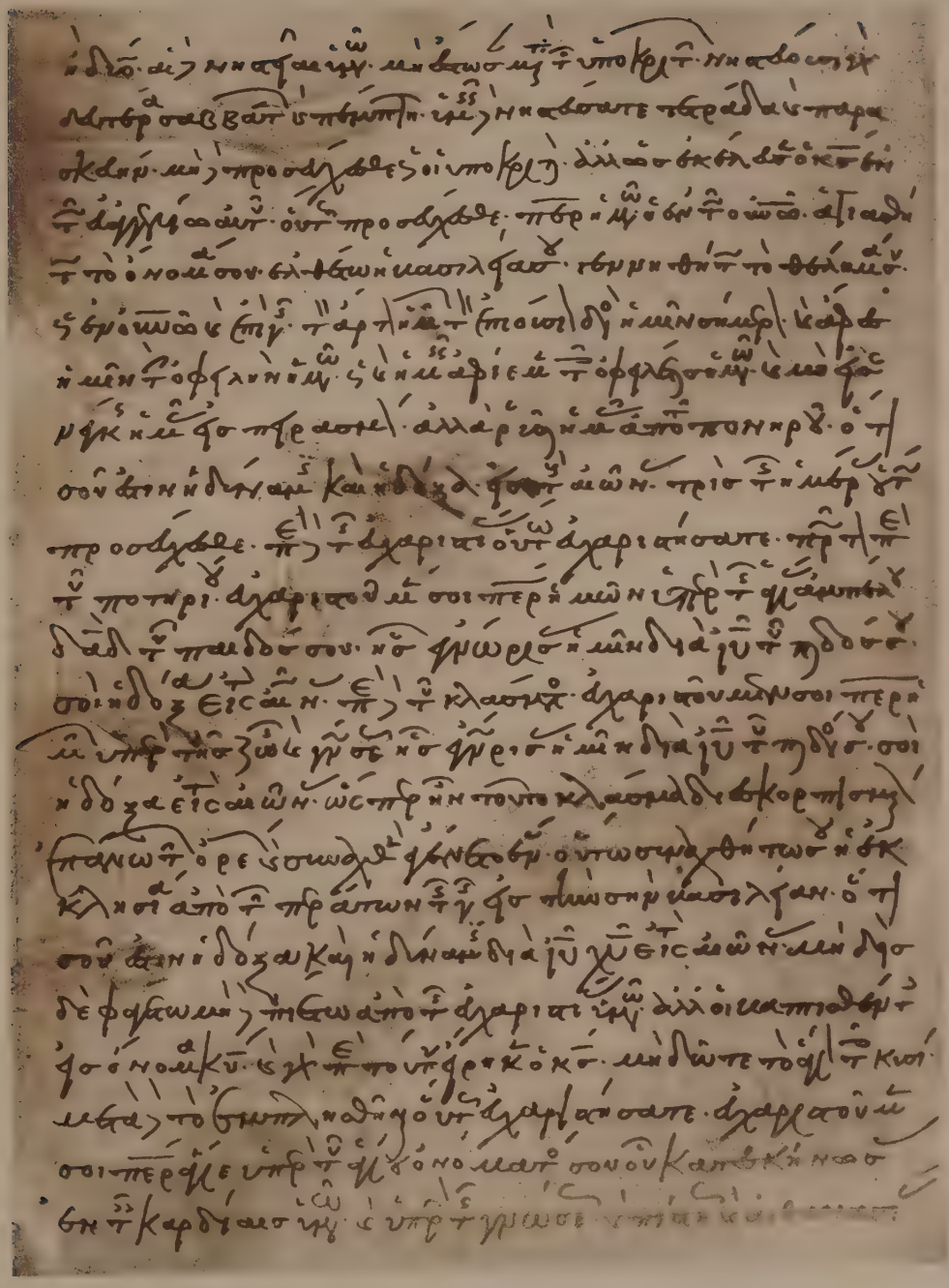

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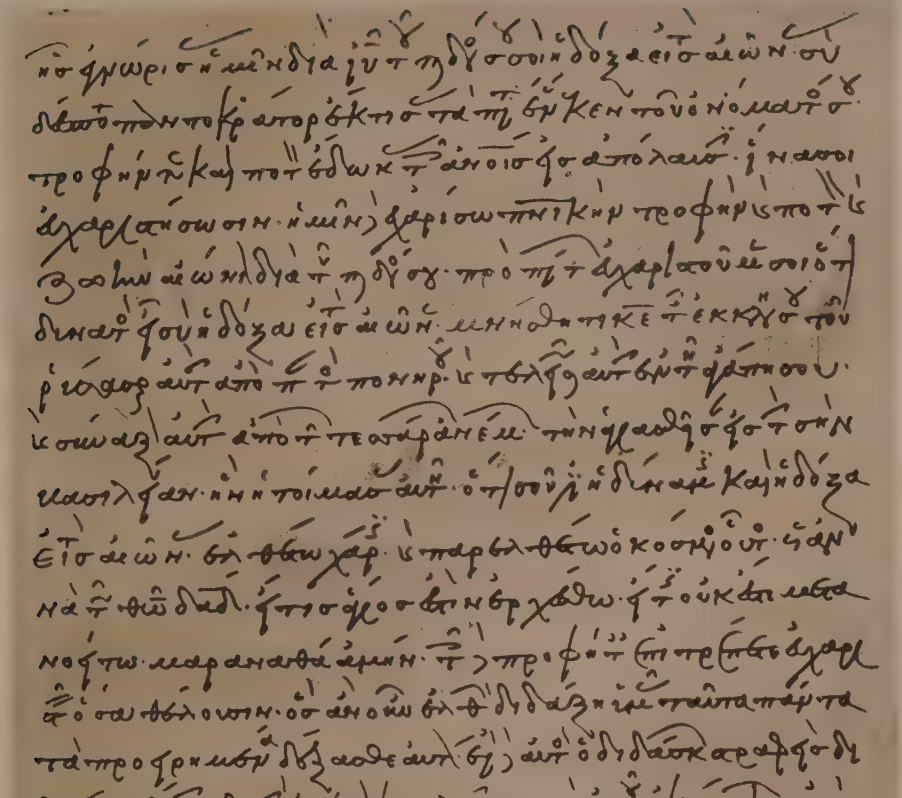

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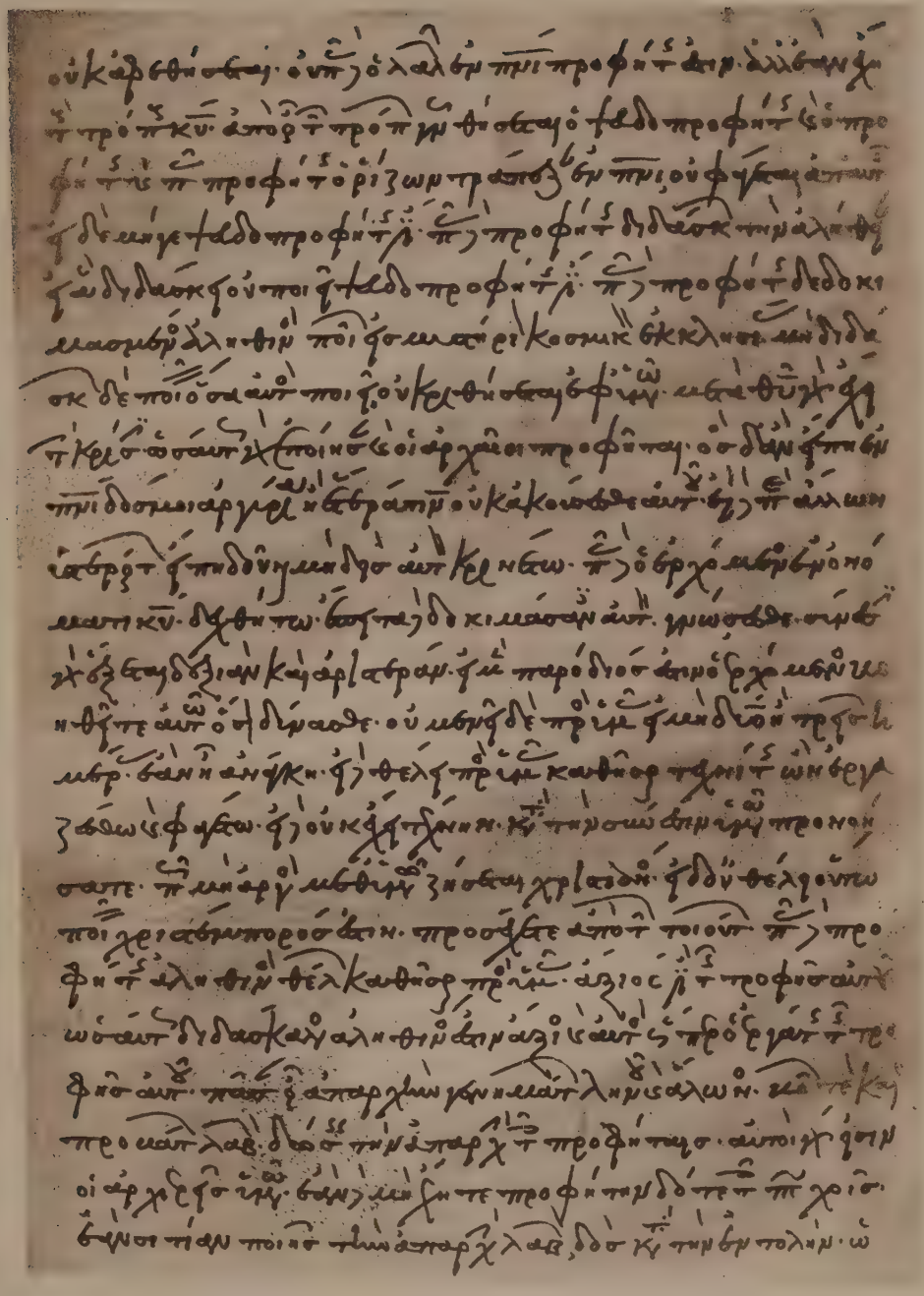

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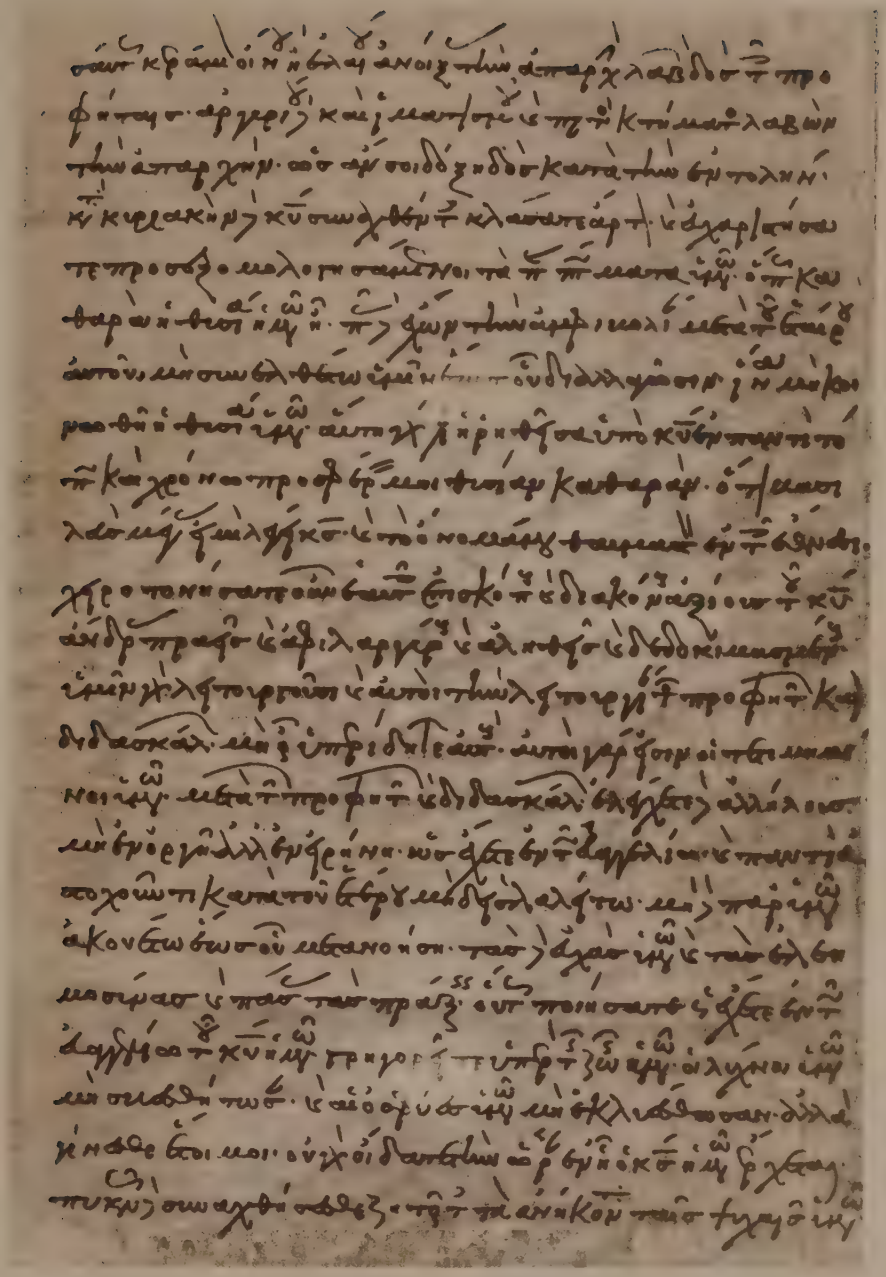

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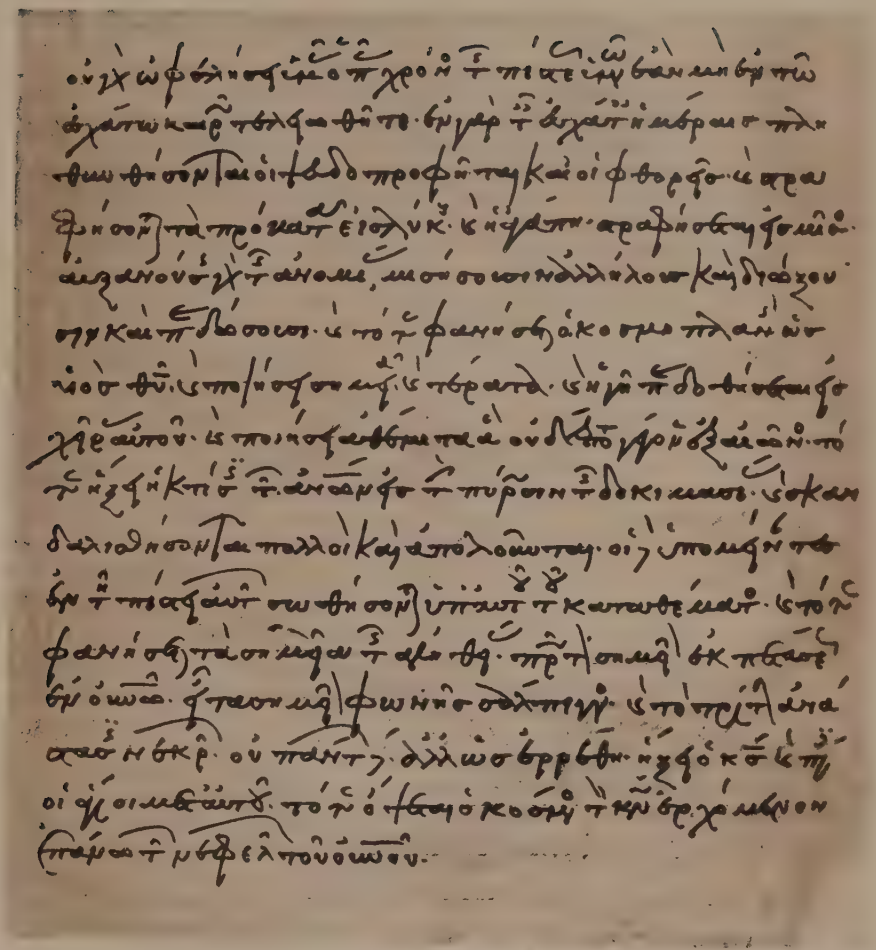

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